

# MILITARY

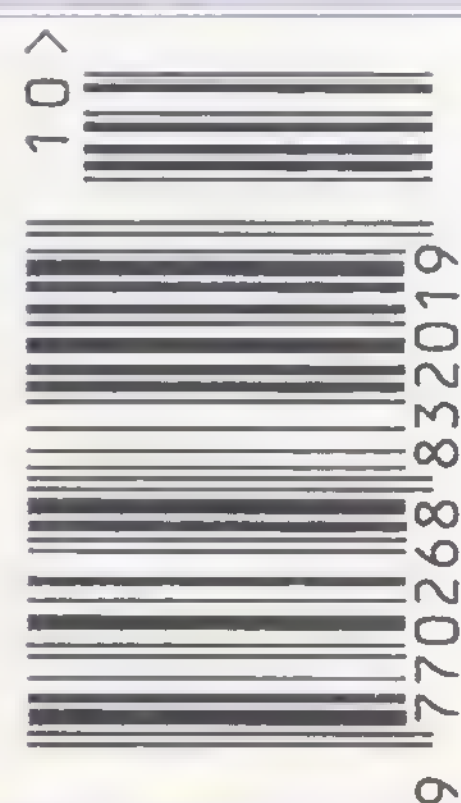
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No.65

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# MILITARY ILLUSTRATED

□ PAST & PRESENT □

No. 65

ISSN 0268-8328

OCTOBER 1993

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Our front cover illustration shows  
A musketeer of the Garde Francaise,  
Cavalier à Cheval and a Garde du Corps  
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Published monthly by  
MILITARY ILLUSTRATED LTD  
44 Museum Street, London WC1A 1LY  
(tel: 071 404-0304)

Editor:  
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36 Cannel Lane, Wellingborough,  
Northants NN8 4NW  
(tel & fax: 0945-675669)

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and Cathy Toggis

Advertising:  
Konrad Kucharski  
45 Museum Street, London WC1A 1LY  
(tel: 071-404-0304)

Typesetting:  
PRS Ltd  
55a High Street, Huddersfield  
Gomersal PE18 6AQ  
(tel: 0480 414347)

Printed by:  
The Grange Press  
Bulls Road  
Southwick  
West Sussex BN16 4LJ

UK newsagent distribution:  
United Magazines Distribution Ltd  
1 Benwell Rd., London N7 7AX  
(tel: 071-700-4600)

USA hobby trade:  
Bill Dean Books Ltd.,  
131 35 51st Avenue,  
Linden Hill, NY 11355

Canada:  
Vanwell Publishing Ltd  
1 Northrup Cres., PO Box 2131, Stn B,  
St. Catharines, Ontario L2M 6P5

Australia & New Zealand:  
Gordon & Colch Ltd  
25-37 Huntingdale Rd.,  
Burwood, Victoria 3125

South Africa:  
Intermag,  
CNA Building, 12 Lush St.,  
New Century Johannesburg

France & Belgium:  
Histoire & Collections,  
19 Avenue de la Republique, 75011 Paris  
(tel: 43-57-85-85)  
Price 52fr., year's subscriptions 350fr  
(France), 390fr. (other EFC)

Italy:  
Tullio Torrisi, PO Box 395, 43100 Parma  
Price L7,000, year's subscription L84,000

Denmark:  
Dansk Bladistribution  
9 Ved Amergerbanen  
DK-2300 Copenhagen

Sweden:  
Plus Interpress  
Ständbergsgata 61, S-11289 Stockholm

Subscription service  
Military Illustrated,  
c/o Lowndesbond Ltd  
17 Bishley Avenue, Rivington,  
W. Sussex BN16 2BY  
(tel: 0903 775121)

Publisher's subscription rates for  
12 issues (one year): U.K. £35;  
other European, £50, by Airspeed — USA,  
\$100, other non-European, £60, all  
payments in sterling or US dollars.

Military Illustrated Past & Present is  
published monthly by Military Illustrated Ltd.  
The subscription price is \$100 for one year  
Mercury Airfreight International Ltd., 2323  
E-F Randolph Avenue, Avenel, NJ 07001  
(US Mailing Agent). Second class postage  
paid at Rahway, NJ, USA

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### THIRD REICH FINALE

Having recently reinitiated my subscription in protest at your Nazi coverage, I must endorse Michael Jones' comments ('MI/62') since his words are precisely those I used myself in part of a recent letter to the Publisher.

I suppose a sturdy of Nazi uniforms may, in itself, be a legitimate pastime, albeit somewhat bizarre. As one who has studied military dress over many years, I have always perceived something brutishly gross and meretricious about Nazi uniforms, especially those of the obnoxious instruments of state repression: the sinister black of the SS, the drab-colour of the SA, the exaggerated caps, the ludicrously-flared riding breeches, the latter so often worn by men who, though experts in murder and torture, probably never bestrode a horse — all designed to inspire fear or to appeal to a certain mentality. I concede that such bias is inescapable from knowledge of the horrors perpetrated by the Nazi regime.

But, however legitimate such uniform study may be, it is a different matter when it is used to excoriate, even glorify, the wearers. It was unpleasant enough to find, in 'MI/54', the odious features of two of the most monstrous Nazis, Himmler and Heydrich, being used to justify all that ghastly, dark-age mumbo-jumbo — which would be absurd, were it not for the evil purpose behind it. To claim that a Hitler Youth SS formation was one of the 'gloria mundi' ('MI/52') seems, at least, to indicate a curious concept of glory. 'MI/61' suggests we should view the SS military police more kindly. As for featuring a repellent concentration camp commandant in 'Gallery' ('MI/58'), this seems both in dubious taste, and an insult to the many other distinguished soldiers who have featured in this column, like Lt-Col Geoffrey Keyes, VC, who gave his life to defeat Nazism.

The wisdom of publishing thinly disguised apologies for Nazi individuals and organisations at a time when Nazism is re-surfacing in Germany seems to be, at best, questionable.

I have had an enjoyable association with 'MI', both as subscriber and contributor, since it began. But as long as this Nazi stuff continues, I want no further part in what was once an excellent magazine.

**Michael Barthorp, Jersey, CI**

The recent letter from a regular reader, in which he strongly objected to articles on Nazi insignia and particularly those of the SS being given some prominence in 'MI', disregards the worldwide collectors' interest in militaria items from this period and the tone of the articles themselves — geared to the interests of the collectors, not to glorifying the Nazi regime.

The writer might just as well object to your magazine as a whole,

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

for glorifying the military and the death and destruction of wars. People have collected militaria since armies were first formed and wars fought. The Wehrmacht and SS of Nazi Germany waged war on the greatest scale the world had known. Their uniforms, insignia and trappings were unique. For all these factors, historians, writers and collectors find this period a fascinating one. The popularity of Nazi insignia alone is reflected in the growing number of expensive reproductions flooding the market.

For all of these reasons and particularly the last, Gordon Williamson's information on the unique cuffbands of the SS is invaluable to many collectors. The SS equate, in collectors' fascination, to the likes of the Roman Praetorian Guard, Napoleon's Garde Imperiale and any other elitist military organisation. The vast majority of collectors' interests centre on the Waffen-SS as covered in Gordon Williamson's articles, rather than the Allgemeine-SS of concentration guard and extermination squad, sick, variety.

Your magazine presumably aims to sell to militaria enthusiasts and inevitably must reflect where the greatest interest lies. Third Reich insignia is amongst the most widely collected militaria in the world. You have to satisfy the customer — the reader. As one of those many collectors I find your articles excellent and informative and they are the primary reason for my buying your magazine.

**Colonel K. Farnes,  
The Artists' Rifles  
Association,  
Chelsea, London**

In 'MI/62' you asked for readers' comments on the 'Third Reich' articles which have become prevalent in recent issues, so here goes:

I would say from the outset that I am not a militaria collector and that my interests in military history are for the pre-1815 period. I therefore do not have any axe to grind directly on this topic. I think, however, that we must accept that to many the present almost morbid fascination with the armed forces, and particularly the SS, of Nazi Germany is distasteful in the extreme.

*Military Illustrated* is not the first magazine to suffer a backlash from readers after covering this subject — *Military Modelling* went through a long period of letter complaints after it had published a series of articles on the SS back in the 1970s. However, if I read Michael Jones' letter correctly he is not so much complaining about any particular article but about the *preponderance* of articles on this subject, which is a part-cause of much grumbling amongst many 'MI' readers of my acquaintance.

Whether we as individuals like it or not the uniforms of Nazi Germany will become the outstanding militaria subject of that era — in the way that those of Napoleonic France dominate the interests of the period 1800-1815, or those of Prussia the period 1745-1763. This powerful interest in the subject is a reason why 'MI' should, and must, cover the topic but, I feel, NOT to the level of domination of the magazine which the last year has shown.

Post-circa 1880, and particularly post-1939, subjects have come to dominate 'MI' in the last two to three years in a way that is damaging the magazine's reputation established in its first three years. This, of course, is at least partly due to the relative (and I stress *relative*) ease of illustrating such articles from contemporary photographs or surviving items. Try doing the same thing to the same depth of detail with any Napoleonic or earlier period article and you quickly run into a paucity of both good contemporary illustrations and surviving items. There are, for example, only a handful of British Line Infantry coats from the 1800-1815 period and, as far as I'm aware, none at all from the Seven Years' War and earlier (I'm talking here about rankers' coats) — in comparison, whilst they might be described by collectors as 'rare', how many hundred WWII German coats survive?

Another aspect of this 'modernist' tendency occurs by the acceptance of articles which are derived entirely from secondary sources — I'll quote just one example. A recent article in 'MI', which I admit to finding very interesting incidentally, cited ten publications as sources of which only seven had publication dates given and the *earliest* of these was 1974 — not even 20 years ago! None of the illustrations gave sources which suggested that none were copyright, and at least two may not even have been from the campaign under discussion.

The reason for all this, of course, is coupled with the number of Nazi articles. Namely if the article is easy to illustrate it not only appeals to a publishing editor but also makes more money for the author (no photo reproduction royalties to pay).

The point of all this is related to Michael Jones' complaint because Nazi WWII regalia exists in such vast numbers and is so collectable that such illustrations are easy to come by. I would therefore see the Nazi subjects not as topics to complain about *per se* but merely indicators of a malaise which is infecting *Military Illustrated* and similar magazines. However, as a final point I must say that many articles are still based on primary material and will always be cited as reference material — here I'm thinking

of things like Pret Bess', René Chartrand's, and Velimir Vukic's articles in 'MI/62' (although it is now rare to find more than one in any issue, 'MI/62' really was a bumper).

**Stephen Ede-Borret,  
Northampton**

In issue No 62 you invited readers to comment on the inclusion of a very large amount of Nazi material in recent issues. As a long standing contributor to 'MI' I have only this to say...

In issue 58 you published a biographical sketch of Theodore Eicke by Roy Bryant. Eicke was without doubt a tough soldier but was for five years Inspector of Concentration Camps. Mr Bryant ends his article 'he will never be rated as one of the great captains but perhaps he deserves better than the description "Butcher"' — to which my answer is 'No — he does not', and I think any magazine that publishes that sort of statement needs to look carefully at its values.

It is not the *inclusion* of some Nazi material that is bad — you cannot tell the story of WWII without it — but the quantity of it, the obvious preference for the SS, and the risk of the material being written by authors who believe that being a 'good soldier' excuses total barbarism and enthusiastic participation in the cold blooded massacre of innocent civilians on a truly vast scale — with no military or strategic purpose — that is bad. Bad and dangerous.

**G.A. Embleton, Onnens,  
Switzerland**

You invited comment from readers regarding the recent number of articles concerned with Nazi Germany — I agree with your correspondent Michael Jones, yes, there are far too many.

Of the last 14 issues from July 1992 all but three have carried such articles, and two of these issues more than one. This concentration on a single historical period is hugely disproportionate particularly when that period lasted only slightly more than a decade.

The study of the costume, memorabilia and so forth of the Third Reich probably cannot be excluded from 'MI' since there appears to be a body of morbid interest in the subject. But the frequency with which that appalling regime is being lauded in your pages is quite unacceptable. By all means, if we must, give those with a taste for it such material, but in strict moderation and not with such relentless, unequal regularity.

Furthermore, many of these articles have been biased favourably towards some of the most inhumanly brutal and fanatical organisations in recent history. Indeed, those featuring the SS, the Hitler Jugend and others rock of apology. For example, for the Hitler

Jugend we are offered the epitaph 'Sic transit gloria mundi'. Really? Well, if that was earthly glory thank God it has passed. And of Theodore Eicke, a man so depraved that even his own kind dubbed him 'butcher', we are invited to question this because of the loyalty of his men. Since when did loyalty exonerate evil? If we must have this stuff let's have it without the eulogies. Too often in these articles the fascination for Nazi regalia and insignia appears to go beyond study of detail and minutiae to endorse the ideology.

It is to be hoped that this homage to the Third Reich is not market led — heaven forbid that such tastes should be encouraged. The apparently tacit approval of it reflects sadly on a premier British military journal with world-wide circulation.

D.N. Anderson, Glasgow

I note in the July issue of the magazine your request for comments from readers on the question of the suitability of articles about the Third Reich, or more exactly its military regalia, for publication. In this time of 'political correctness', there will always be some pressure on a magazine like yours to ban Third Reich material from your pages entirely. This, it seems to me, is somewhat shortsighted, the odiousness of the Third Reich is a fact, we will not avoid it by ignoring it. In addition, a serious magazine about military history cannot ignore Nazi Germany; it is too large a subject in the field the magazine covers.

On the other hand, there can be too much about any one subject. If reader Jones is correct (that ten out of twelve of the last issues of the magazine have carried pieces about the Third Reich) then per-

haps some effort to space the pieces out more could be made. It would certainly not do for 'MI' to become the showpiece of Nazi memorabilia.

I have subscribed to the magazine for several years now (five or more, if memory serves me correctly). I find it an excellent publication overall. I subscribe to several other magazines about the same subject, and yours is consistently the best of the lot. I particularly enjoy the colour plates depicting uniforms and equipment and the photographic features of modern reconstructions of historical uniforms. Keep up the good work, perhaps with fewer Nazis per year.

David K. Haynes, McKinney, Texas

Thank you for publishing the letter of Michael Jones and the request for comment following it in the July 1993 issue. I share Mr Jones' sentiments on the recent run of articles on Nazi Germany. I hope that you will decrease the quantity of such articles if not eliminate them entirely in future issues of *Military Illustrated*.

Allan D. Satin, Cincinnati, Ohio

With reference to the letter from Michael Jones on the number of articles recently published relating to Third Reich issues, I have also been a subscriber since 'MI' first began and would like to comment, if I may.

The strength of 'MI' has always been that the articles were written by enthusiasts. Whilst we all have our own individual interests, mine being the First World War, enthusiasm is infectious and no matter how unrelated and obscure the articles to one's own field they are

nonetheless interesting to read in their own right. Where else would I have bothered to read about Napoleon's carriages for instance, and been interested.

I am sure all readers could quote a similar example.

I do agree that there has been a lot about the Third Reich though. Love it or hate it this merely reflects what is being submitted by readers and undeniably this is a period with a great following and you can not dictate what should or should not interest someone.

The solution is simple for any reader dissatisfied with the imbalance. Sit down, put pen to paper and write an article on some aspect of your field. Give the editorial team a greater choice and a status quo will return — don't simply throw up your hands and walk away.

As for my own personal gripe, there are dedicated magazines for military modelling so let them cover that aspect of our hobby and leave the pages of 'MI' free for 'real life' subjects.

A. T. Cropper, Sheffield

Regarding Michael Jones' comments concerning articles connected with Nazi Germany. Firstly, I find the content of your magazine very diverse and if there is regular coverage of the above subject, this is obviously due to the demand from collectors, historians, modellers, etc.

Secondly, how can one possibly have a magazine with a title such as your own, which conveniently excludes certain subjects, even from a moral viewpoint? Military history is just that, however distasteful some of it may be.

My own interests in military subjects range from ancient to present-day and, yes, include the Third

Reich, but this does not mean — as I suspect Mr Jones would believe — that I have any sympathy for such a regime.

Charles Bradshaw, Bradford

THE QUESTION of 'MI's treatment of the Third Reich has been the subject of correspondence for the last two issues, and we have endeavoured to give a representative cross-section of letters received. It is evident that the majority of correspondents hold the view that the Third Reich, its insignia and related subjects, is undoubtedly an area of legitimate interest for military study, but that it should not be accorded disproportionate attention. It is not a view from which we would differ. What is perhaps the case is that over recent months we have given the Third Reich more coverage in this publication than it deserves.

We cannot believe it to be right to ignore a period of history, however morally repugnant — and no right-thinking person can hold Hitler's Third Reich to have been anything other — but at the same time we would not wish to over-emphasise Nazi history to the extent that readers should begin to feel we are actively promoting it.

We shall therefore be prudent, and respectful of the views expressed by many of our own leading contributors and readers. However there will be, from time to time, articles that deal, in a properly historical and dispassionate context, with subjects related to the Third Reich which will be of interest, and merit inclusion. They take their place in what we trust readers will find to be a balanced mixture of articles covering all periods and nationalities.

Ed

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**E46 US Army Air Force: 1** by Gordon Rottman; plates by Francis Chin.

Although Osprey have confusingly failed to say so in the title, this covers World War II; it is the first of a pair, and is devoted to flying clothing and equipment. Mr Rottman's name is a guarantee of a quality text: this is a feast of information, clearly written and comprehensively organised, and describes flying clothing both fabric and leather, boots, helmets, goggles, electrically heated inserts and undergarments, armour, parachutes, oxygen equipment, life vests, and even such details as survival and medical packs, on-board ration containers, etc. There is a lot of varied detail here, and the book should be a boon to collectors, researchers and modellers. The mono photographs vary in quality; many are very good, others are too small and fuzzy to be of value. The choice of plate subjects is sensible, and generally Mr Chin — an artist new to this list — is successful in his treatment of a

demanding brief. Oddly, some of the most successful are the hardest compositions, including some excellent 'bail-out' scenarios; and even in those plates where his proportions are less than perfect his handling of leather and fabric textures is so good that the figures convey a lot of information. The plates' commentaries are first rate. A surprisingly neglected subject, well covered, and good value for money; recommended.

**E47 South African Special Forces** by Robert Pitta & Jeff Fannell; plates by Simon McCouaig.

This text gives brief histories and descriptions of the SADF Parachute Battalions and Pathfinder Company; the Hunter Group; 32 Battalion; the Reconnaissance Regiment; 7th Medical Battalion; the SA Marines and Navy divers; Koevoet; and various minor police units. Coverage of the major units includes basic dates and organisation, enlistment requirements, training, and in most cases brief

examples of operational history. The photos are of good quality; and the colour plates, though sometimes rather garish, are very varied and give a wide range of different operational uniforms and kit. Given the uncertainty of South Africa's future, and the probable importance of some SADF elite units as players in that future, there will be many students of modern military affairs who will want to add this title to their reference shelves.

**Britons to Arms! The Story of the British Volunteer Soldier** by Glenn A. Stepien. Alan Sutton; 186pp; 24pp of mono photos; index, appendices, notes, biblio; £14.99.

A first class book, researched to scholarly standards, on a little-understood aspect of British military history. A general review of the Volunteer/Militia effort from the 18th century to the end of the Second World War, packed with specific information on the legal, economic and military facets, is fol-

lowed by very detailed coverage of a representative area: Leicestershire and Rutland. The story of the Volunteers, Yeomanry, Rifle Volunteers and Territorials recruited in these counties is told in some detail, from 1745 to 1945. A recommended work from the hand of a talented and painstaking researcher.

**Training the Roman Cavalry: from Arrian's Ars Tactica** by Ann Hyland; Alan Sutton; 208pp; 42 illu.; index, biblio, glossary, appendices; £26.00.

This intriguing book is by a professional horse-trainer and historian of horse-handling. She has published a number of other works, including *Equus: The Horse in the Roman World*, and attentive readers of Peter Connolly's works on the Roman saddle and harness will have noted her name before in connection with practical experiments with reconstruction equipment and tack. The present book mainly consists of a careful selective repetition, with parallel analysis, of Arrian's early 2nd century AD treatise on military horsemanship in

## BOOK REVIEWS

parade-ground exercises. This is accompanied by many other sections on the horse, his tack, cavalry organisation and practices, weapons-handling, etc. It is written in a clear explanatory style; though it must be said that only 'horse-literate' readers will get the most out of some of the more sophisticated analyses, even the present reviewer — who knows nothing beyond the fact that danger lies at both ends of the beast — found much to interest and educate in these pages. The enthusiast for Roman military history, even if as dedicated a foot-slogger as the reviewer, will ignore this book at his peril; the sections on weapons-handling, and on the battlefield implications of 'cavalry sports', are of central interest. Alan Sutton are to be congratulated on publishing a work of such specialist, but valuable, scholarship. The illustrations include some most useful sketch-diagrams, and photos of reconstruction equipment in use. Recommended.

**Collins Encyclopedia of Military History** by R. Ernest Dupuy and Trevor N. Dupuy. Harper-Collins; ISBN 0-00-470143-7; 1,654pp; maps & diagrams; bibliography and subject indexes; £40.00.

A lot has happened in the world since the last edition of this famous book appeared in 1985. We have seen the end of the war in Afghanistan, continuing trouble in Lebanon, campaigns in central America, German reunification, the break-up of the former USSR and Yugoslavia, and of course the Gulf War. Hand in hand have come new military technology and major steps towards reducing the stockpile of nuclear weapons.

All of this, as well as the results of the latest research in earlier periods of history (particularly Chinese history), has prompted Trevor Dupuy to continue his late father's work, 22 years after the first edition of this magnificent reference book appeared. The result is a weighty tome, organised in chronological order with well thought-out indexes, which covers not just wars and campaigns from 3,500 BC to the present, but also developments in strategy, tactics and weapons technology. Not is the detail superficial; even specialists will encounter details they did not know before. It is a superb book which also places events in their political and social contexts, and will be invaluable to all students of military history — and, considering the depth and sheer quantity of the information included, a book which is also remarkably moderately priced.

**At All Costs: Stories of Impossible Victories** by Bryan Perrett. Arms & Armour; ISBN 1-85409-157-3; 240pp; mono photos & maps; bibliography & index; £16.99.

Bryan Perrett continues to be one of the most readable of all modern historians and this latest pot-pourri

of exciting stories shows he has not lost his touch. Spanning some 300 years from Minden in 1759 to Goose Green in 1982, it takes in the Cumean and American Civil Wars, the Franco-Prussian War, the Gordon Relief Expedition and battles of both World Wars. Each is narrated in easy to follow detail, highlighting those psychological forces which drive men to achieve impossible victories regardless of cost: revenge, survival, success, professionalism and self-sacrifice. It is not a 'necessary' book, but one which is most enjoyable.

**African Arms and Armour** by Christopher Spring. British Museum Press; ISBN 0-7141-2508-3; 144pp; 30 colour & 130 mono illu; bibliography & index; £19.95.

Written by a specialist in anthropology and ethnography 'sub-specialising' in African studies, and a curator of the British Museum, it is only to be expected that this is a scholarly work. It is also totally absorbing and magnificently illustrated.

The book is partially divided by geography and partially by the study of individual classes of weapon; which range from spears to knives, bows to swords, with a great deal of variety in between, including shields, horse armour and a lot of 'kit' someone not already interested in the subject will find surprising.

The coverage embraces the whole continent from prehistoric days to modern ceremonial and hunting weapons, and not only discusses the weapons themselves but their cultural context and the way they were or are used. An excellent survey of a largely neglected subject, and thus doubly welcome.

**Rebels & Yankees** by William C. Davis, technical advisor Russ A. Pritchard. Salamander; each book 256pp, large format, full colour as well as mono throughout; indexes; £19.95 each.

**The Fighting Men of the Civil War**; ISBN 0-86101-395-6.

**The Battlefields of the Civil War**; ISBN 0-86101-571-1.

**The Commanders of the Civil War**; ISBN 0-86101-510-X.

Pulitzer Prize nominee William C. Davis has created a remarkable achievement with these three fine books, and it is a credit to publishers Salamander that they have put commensurate effort into the production. The text is lucid, always informative, highly detailed and well annotated, as you will expect from an author who is a Fellow of the US Army Military History Institute.

The first book ('Fighting Men') takes us into the world of the ordinary soldier: what his motivations were, his enlistment and basic training, his experiences of camp life and on the march. And, of course, his battlefield experience. Every branch of service of the army (and navy) is covered in detail, and it is here that the magnificent illus-

trations help the subject spring to life. Dozens of double-page spreads contain superb colour photographs of Civil War artefacts, from cannon to underwear. Even though weapons and uniforms proliferate, there is a great deal more variety, from a field surgeon's complete kit to a collection of jewellery and other artefacts made by prisoners of war. Complementing these photographs are hundreds of contemporary illustrations and a number of excellent paintings of individual troop types from Jeffery Burn.

'Battlefields' follows the same format, but here the colour photographs tend to show weapons excavated from battlefields rather than in auction-room condition. These are supplemented by many more uniform and flag plates, more contemporary photographs, more of Jeff Burn's paintings, and double page full colour maps of every important engagement.

In 'Commanders' the treatment is the same, with biographical sketches of dozens of commissioned officers from both sides. Obviously, here the uniforms shown are also those of officers, as are the swords and many private purchase weapons. Some of the campaign kit, such as a portable desk and chair, are photographed in such detail that no modeller could fail to be tempted by a vignette or diorama.

The three volumes of 'Rebels & Yankees' are available separately but we cannot imagine many people just buying one.

**The Machine Gun: A Modern Survey** by Terry Gander. Patrick Stephens; ISBN 1-85260-356-9; 208pp; 8pp colour, mono illu throughout; index; £19.99.

Terry Gander's work on 20th century weapons is recognised internationally, his *Encyclopedia of the Modern British Army* being a classic reference work.

He begins this book with the words 'Firepower kills', and proceeds to demonstrate how the fully automatic machine-gun, from the Maxim onwards, has come to dominate the infantry battlefield. Following a short introduction to the machine-gun concept, the author treats his subject by nationality rather than chronologically, but chronologically within each chapter. The nations covered are Germany, Russia, China, Belgium, Britain, France, Spain, Czechoslovakia, South Africa, Singapore, Israel, Brazil, Japan, Finland, Switzerland, Italy and the United States, with closing sections on rotary, chain and open chamber weapons and a look towards the future.

Mr Gander has sensibly restricted himself to weapons of less than approximately 15mm calibre, and within each national section gives detailed descriptions and performance figures for each weapon. Thus the UK section, for example,

includes the Bren and its derivatives, the various marks of GPMG and the LSW.

Photographs are generally clear and well chosen, showing a mixture of factory shots and battlefield situations. It is a shame the colour section could not have been expanded, but price was presumably a decisive factor here.

Judging by the results of our recent Bren Gun competition, a large number of 'MI' readers are interested in weaponry, so watch out for this book.

**British Aircraft Armament: Volume 1: RAF Gun Turrets from 1914 to the Present Day** by R. Wallace Clarke. Patrick Stephens; ISBN 1-85260-223-6; 208pp; mono illu throughout; appendices, bibliography & index; £19.99.

This very specialised book, the result of 25 years of research, describes every type of turret fitted to British military aircraft, beginning with the Scarff Ring and ending with the Lucas helicopter gun turret. It includes the turrets of American bombers used by the RAF and Commonwealth forces, while appendices cover turret guns, gunsights and give a list of aircraft enumerating which turrets were fitted. The book is illustrated with dozens of close-up photographs and handbook diagrams which will be a boon to aircraft modellers. Data panels give such details as power system, armament, field of fire, weights and sizes. Although probably not of too much interest to most 'MI' readers, we look forward to further titles in this new series with interest.

**Soldat: Reflections of a German Soldier, 1936-1949** by Siegfried Knappe and Ted Brusaw. Airline; ISBN 1-85310-439-6; 384; 16pp mono plates; index; £16.95.

Siegfried Knappe was an artillery officer in the German army during the Second World War, serving in France and Russia and ending up as operations officer of LVI Corps during the final desperate defence of Berlin. After five years in Soviet captivity he was repatriated, reunited with his wife and subsequently moved to the United States, where he still lives.

This very readable account is the story of an ordinary, decent man caught up in events he is powerless to control. It clearly conveys the heady euphoria of the early days of the war and the onset of disillusionment as friends are killed and the Wehrmacht is finally forced on the defensive. The text is actually written by Ted Brusaw, a professional business writer, from tapes of interviews with Knappe. Apart from occasional mistakes (ie, 20th SS Panzer Division) caused presumably by the distortions of memory, it is an excellent account which shows what life was truly like for the average German soldier both in the front line and at home on leave.

# The Royal Guards of France 1661-1763

RENE CHARTRAND



**Above:** Drummer and partisan bearer of the French Guards infantry regiment, circa 1665. Both wear the blue and red royal livery with livery lace. The partisan bearers were abolished in 1673. Plate by Marbot. (Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University.)

**Below:** Musketeer and pikeman of the French Guards infantry regiment circa 1690. The blue uniform was worn from 1685. Pikemen were abolished in 1703. Plate by Marbot after a drill book. (Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University.)



TWO OF THE most famous regiments in the Bourbon army during the 17th and 18th centuries were the Gardes-Françaises and the Gardes Suisses, crack infantry to match the even more famous musketeers covered last month.

## GARDE DU DEHORS DU LOUVRE: INFANTRY

### Gardes-Françaises

**THE FRENCH GUARDS.** This guard infantry regiment was recruited from French native born soldiers, hence its name. It was raised in 1563, and became a very large unit. Indeed, it was more like an infantry brigade than a regiment, most of which had only one or two battalions with fifty-man companies. The French Guards had thirty 200-man companies as early as 1656, rising to forty by the 1670s, and back to 32 in 1715, divided up into six battalions. Of the companies, two were of grenadiers formed in 1689, with a third added in 1719. The regiment took part with distinction in countless sieges and battles until the last years of the reign of Louis XIV when its wavering at Malplaquet put a shadow on the regiment's feats at Fleurus and Steinkirk. The regiment also saw much action during the reign of Louis XV, first during the short Polish Succession war of 1733-1734, and much more during the Austrian Succession war (1743-1748)

### OUR FRONT COVER

#### Illustration shows:

Guardsmen of Louis XIV during the late 1670s. At left, a musketeer of the Gardes Françaises regiment wearing the grey uniform trimmed with red and silver buttons and lace used until 1685. At right, a Grenadier à cheval wearing the red uniform used until 1692 (see 'M' 63). In the background, a Garde du Corps of the 4th French Company with the distinctive yellow banfollier (see 'M' 62). (Plate by Francis Back from Louis XIV's Army, by kind permission of Osprey Military Books.)

and the Seven Years' war (1756-1763), serving in Flanders and Germany. It did well at the siege of Phillipsburg (1734) but suffered heavy casu-

### Below:

Officers of the French Guards infantry regiment, circa 1690. Note the short pike for colours. The long poles only became universal in the 1720s. Plate by Marbot after a drill book. (Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University.)





**Far left:**  
Private and officer of the  
French Guards infantry  
regiment, circa 1724. Plate by  
Marbot after Delaître. (Anne  
S.K. Brown Military Collection,  
Brown University.)

**Left:**  
Private and officer of the  
French Guards infantry  
regiment, 1757. Plate by  
Marbot after an original  
manuscript. (Anne S.K. Brown  
Military Collection, Brown  
University.)

allies and broke at Dettingen (1743), did well at the sieges of Ypres (1744) and Tournai (1745).

At Fontenoy (11 May 1745) occurred the famous incident when the 5th and 6th battalions were in line facing the British Foot Guards fifty paces away. After much gentlemanly saluting, the polite question of who should shoot first to start the battle was asked. This delicate matter was finally settled by the British volley to the expense of over 400 officers and men of the *Gardes-Françaises*, the battalions being nearly destroyed in the minutes following this grand gesture of the 'lace wars' — *après vous messieurs les Anglais!* — the French officer's famous phrase inviting the British to shoot first and get things under way! Later in the day, some of the regiment's survivors rallied, led a charge and were the first to break the British columns, while Marshal de Saxe's French army routed the allies.

The regiment was later at Mons (1746) and Lawfeld (1747). During the Seven Years' War, the regiment served first in the west of France and saw no action until 1760 when four

battalions were sent to Germany where they served with distinction until the end of the war.

The *Gardes-Françaises* did not have regimental uniforms when Louis XIV came to power in 1661, but the various companies appear to have had their own dress. At a review that year, one could see Captain Maupeou's company in grey with plumes at the hats, Captain Rihentel's also in grey with blue breeches, Captain Castellan's wearing red coats, Captain Hautefeuille's wearing red breeches and cloth caps trimmed with fur. A regimental uniform was introduced to the regiment 'shortly after' 1661, Father Daniel tells us in his *Histoire de la milice française*. This first uniform consisted of a coat which was completely grey, cuffs and lining included, laced with silver at all seams for the enlisted men. Officers' and NCOs' varied as will be seen below. The men's uniform remained grey and was described in the January 1679 *Mercurie Galant* as a grey coat with red waistcoat laced silver, red stockings, black hats laced silver with white plumes. Red ribbons decorated the hats and both shoulders. At a review in May 1680, the regiment's hat plumes were reported as being green and white. In September 1680, the *Gardes-Françaises* tried an experimental buff vest trimmed with gold and silver lace but this was not retained. Three years later, the colonel was 'tired of the details pertaining to clothing' which were proving very expensive and asked the king to settle the matter.

In October 1684, the king decided to change the uniform of his guard infantry from grey to the colours of his livery. On 24 March 1685, the regiment first paraded in its new blue uniform and the king commented that it had never looked better. This was the blue coat with red lining, cuffs, ribbons, waistcoat, breeches and stockings, white metal buttons and white pointed lace for the men. The lace appears to have been set in threes from that time.<sup>1</sup> Red ribbons on the hats and shoulders were initially worn but went out of fashion by the end of the 17th century. Until abolished at the end of the 17th century, the regiment's pikemen had the same uniform as the other men but wore a blackened steel cuirass. Grenadiers had a red cap trimmed with fur which evolved into a bearskin cap in the 18th century.

The basic uniform remained much the same in the 18th cen-

tury except for the style which evolved as time passed.<sup>2</sup> Gaiters appeared in the 1730s and were specified during 1743 as white in summer and black in winter. At this time also, the skirts of the coat were turned back showing the red lining and a small blue standing collar appeared on the coat.

In 1678, the men's buff accoutrements were edged with silver lace and the pouch had a sun with silver rays. Later on the buff accoutrements were stitched with white thread and, from the early 18th century, were edged with white leather. The cartridge box was of reddish brown Russia leather stamped with the royal arms highlighted by a silver wash.

In 1679, sergeants of the *Gardes-Françaises* wore scarlet coats laced silver with cuffs 'of different colours' according to their company and had steel breastplates edged with gold.<sup>3</sup> From 1685, sergeants were to wear the same uniform as the men but with silver lace and, from 1691, a silver lace also edging the coat cuffs and pocket flaps. They had silver edged buff belts and were armed with silver hilted swords and halberds. We add a few words about the *Pertuisiers*, or Partisan bearers, who had about the same duties as the *Trabans* in the Swiss Guards (see below). They wore their colonel's livery — the king in this case — but were abolished in French units (but not the Swiss) by the early 1670s.

The drummers of the *Gardes-Françaises* wore the king's livery. In the early part of Louis XIV's reign, this blue lined red livery could vary. In 1679, the regimental drummers are described 'clothed in blue. Their coats are covered with the king's livery lace of the first of the year... which changes every year... between this livery lace was a silver lace and these coats had (silver) buttons... The drums were painted and gilded and (bearing) the arms of their (company) captains.' As stated above, the livery lace stopped changing soon thereafter and the king's arms were put on the blue drums, probably in 1685 if not before. Thereafter, the drummers and fifers always had the blue coat with red cuffs and lining garnished with the king's 'great' livery lace and silver lace, red waistcoat, breeches and stockings, silver laced hat.

Officers did not wear the grey uniform introduced in 1661 but had scarlet coats richly embroidered with silver. They were also allowed a blue coat laced with silver from January 1665. At a review in

1679, they are said to wear coats 'so covered with embroidery that the colour of the cloth can hardly be distinguished', according to the *Mercurie Galant*, but John Locke, who was also watching the parade, tells us that the officers of the French Guards had 'for the most part silver embroidery or lace in blue'. In 1680, however, four 'gentlemen of the king's colour' — a junior officer's colour guard — were added to the establishment and described in the November *Mercurie Galant* wearing a grey-white coat lined blue edged with silver lace 'over two fingers wide' and with a silver lace over all seams; blue breeches and stockings; black hat laced silver with a white plume and blue ribbons; white cravat with blue bow; buff shoulder sword belted edged with two wide silver laces with blue ribbon. Their swords had silver hilts and they had partisans with gilded spears. Finally, it appears that, before they adopted the blue uniform in 1685, the officers had scarlet coats embroidered with silver and 'silver' sashes around the waist.

From 1685, the officers only wore the regimental blue coat cuffed and lined with red and had broad silver lace on all seams, and silver buttons; red waistcoat with silver buttons and lace; red breeches and red, later white, stockings as well as gaiters. The hats were laced with silver and had white plumes. They were armed with a silver hilted sword and a spontoon, and on duty, wore a gilt gorget. Only grenadier officers were armed with muskets and bayonets.

#### **Gardes-Suisses**

The Swiss Guards. The other guard infantry regiment was composed of Swiss soldiers in French pay. It originated in the 16th century but only became part of the royal guard in 1616. Its companies were also 200 men strong and the number of companies varied considerably at first, stabilising at ten in 1668 and finally fixed at twelve in 1690. In 1696, two grenadier companies were formed. The war services of this regiment were outstanding all through both reigns.

Uniforms were probably introduced 'shortly after' 1661 to the regiment, at the same time as the *Gardes-Françaises*. At a review in 1663, the Swiss Guards wore grey-blue coats lined buff and laced with gold on all seams. This may surprise those who think that Swiss troops in the French army always wore red coats.

**Far left:**  
Trabant of the Swiss Guards,  
circa 1724, wearing the  
Colonel's livery (in this case  
the king) rather than the  
regimental uniform. (Anne S.K.  
Brown Military Collection,  
Brown University.)

**Left:**  
Drummer of the Swiss Guards,  
circa 1724. (Anne S.K. Brown  
Military Collection, Brown  
University.)



**Far left:**  
Fusilier of the Swiss Guards,  
circa 1724. (Anne S.K. Brown  
Military Collection, Brown  
University.)



**Left:**  
Back view of a fusilier of the  
Swiss Guards, circa 1724.  
Such views are scarce and  
show the lacing on the back  
skirts. The French Guards  
were identical except for the  
colours of the uniform. (Anne  
S.K. Brown Military  
Collection, Brown University.)

**Below left:**  
Officer and fusilier of the  
Swiss Guards infantry  
regiment, 1757. Plate by  
Marbot after an original  
manuscript. (Anne S.K. Brown  
Military Collection, Brown  
University.)

**Below:**  
In the middle of the 18th  
century, the uniform of  
the Swiss (left) and French  
(right) Guard regiments  
consisted of these finely laced  
coats and waistcoats. Plate by  
Marbot after a 1757  
manuscript. (Anne S.K. Brown  
Military Collection, Brown  
University.)



Actually, it was a gradual process. All through Louis XIV's long reign, there were many Swiss regiments wearing blue and even yellow coats as well as red. This was a slow process, even in the Swiss guards. At a 1679 review, the regiment's musketeers wore all-red coats with gold buttons and their cuffs were laced; their breeches were blue cut after the Swiss fashion with 'points' just below the knees; their hats had no plumes. However, the pikemen had blue coats (not red!) with gold buttons and lace on the cuffs, also wearing the cuirass and helmet.

In October 1684, the king decided on red coats for the whole regiment and from 1685 on, the uniform was a red coat with blue lining and cuffs; blue waistcoat, breeches and stockings; white metal buttons and white pointed lace on the coat and waistcoat; silver laced hat became the standard uniform. There were probably blue ribbons at the hat and shoulders until the end of the 17th century. The lace was set in threes, like in the *Gardes-Françaises*. Until abolished in 1703, the pikemen of Swiss regiments, unlike the French units, wore their steel cuirass with tassels and had steel helmets instead of hats. The Swiss-style breeches 'with points' went out of use in 1703 and thereafter, regular breeches were worn.

This remained the uniform of the Swiss Guards until the end of the Seven Years' War, making allowances for changing fashions. Gaiters came into wear during the 1730s; blue turnbacks and a small red standing collar on the coat during the 1740s. Accoutrements were buff stitched with white thread and, from the early 18th century, edged with white leather. The cartridge box was of reddish brown Russia leather stamped with the royal arms highlighted by a silver wash.

In 1679, the sergeants of the *Gardes-Suisses* wore red coats laced with 'true gold galloon' according to John Locke's *Travels*. From 1685, they had the same uniform as the men but their lace was of silver. From 1691, they also had a silver lace edging the cuffs and pocket flaps. Sergeants had silver laced belts and were armed with silver hilted swords and halberds.

Drummers of the Swiss Guards are not described in the 1660s and 1670s but would have worn the king's livery much like the French Guards. They later wore the same king's livery as described above for

the French Guards but with blue waistcoat, breeches and stockings, and silver laced hats. The blue drums had the king's arms elaborately painted in gold.

A rank peculiar to Swiss regiments was the *Trabans*, from an ancient custom of having a few élite men as a personal guard to the company's captain in battle. They ranked as non-commissioned officers and wore the colonel's livery which, in the *Gardes-Suisses*, was the king's livery of blue and red with silver. They are shown in 1721 with livery lace on the coat and red waistcoat but this may not have been always followed to the letter. They were armed with an halberd.

The dress of Swiss Guards officers appears to have been nearly always the same colour as their men. At the 1663 review, the officers had the same dress as their men with extra gold lace. In January 1665, they were allowed blue coats with gold lace, but appear to have kept to their old custom, with a preference for red. At a 1679 review, John Locke noted that the Swiss Guard officers had 'all gold on red and much the richer'. After the adoption of the red uniform in 1685, the officers had red coats with red cuffs and lining, trimmed with silver buttons and wide silver lace on the seams; blue waistcoat with silver buttons and lace; blue breeches and blue, later white, stockings. Red coats with blue cuffs and lining with narrow silver lace and buttons could also be worn as an undress. The hats were laced with silver and had white plumes. Swiss officers wore silvered gorgets on duty. They were armed with a silver hilted sword and a spontoon. **M**

To be continued

#### Notes

1. The September 1686 *Mercurius Galant* reports that, for the visit at Versailles of ambassadors from Siam (the present Thailand), there were a thousand men of the French and Swiss guards 'all dressed in embroidered red coats'. This appears to have been a special dress ordered for the occasion as Louis XIV was anxious to impress the rulers of that oriental kingdom.
2. There was a proposed dress which included mitre caps and lapels, apparently in the 1730s, but this Germanic dress was not adopted.
3. It was not uncommon for sergeants in the French infantry to wear coats of different colours than the men. See our *Louis XIV's Army* (Osprey, 1989) for other examples. Some colonial troops and marines also did this.

## COLONIAL WARFARE

# The Gwalior Campaign, December 1843

CARLTON WRIGLEY

AS DURING THE Scinde campaign in the same year (see 'MI' 64), the Honourable East India Company brought a foe superior in numbers to battle and in two decisive encounters prevented what could later have become a major threat.

THIS WAS ONE of the numerous minor campaigns mounted by the Honourable East India Company's administration in India, which sought to expand and consolidate its control over strategically and commercially useful independent Indian states. No part of India was at this time a Crown territory, but British troops had served in India 'on loan' to the East India Company since the 39th Regiment of Foot had been present at the Battle of Plassey in 1757.

Gwalior was one such independent Maharatta State which, after the Maharatta Wars, had been placed under the 'protection' of the East India Company, when a British Resident had been installed. During the late 1830s, and particularly after the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839, the Indian Administration became increasingly concerned with the growing power and influence in north-west India of the Sikhs and their powerful army. By the early 1840s it seemed inevitable that, within a few

years, there would be war between the Sikhs and the East India Company. In this event, any alliance between the Sikhs and Gwalior would establish a formidable joint army which would be a real danger to the East India Company since Gwalior, due to its geographical position, would be able to threaten the flank and lines of communication of any Company troops moving against the Sikhs. As was so often the case, the Indian Administration required a justifiable reason to establish effective control over the strategically important territory.

Fortuitously, events in Gwalior conspired to give the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, a reason for the military occupation of the State.

During the rule of two Maharajahs of Gwalior, Daulat

*A contemporary watercolour depicting the death of Major-General Churchill, the Quarter Master General, at the battle of Maharajpore.*

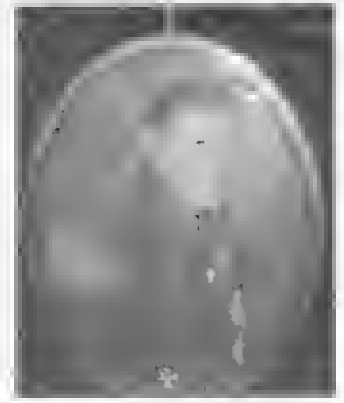




Portrait of Lieutenant-Colonel Stopford, who commanded the 40th Regiment at Maharajpoo, together with his Maharajpoo Star.



A contemporary miniature of Colonel Sir Thomas Valient, KCB, who commanded the 5th Brigade.



A contemporary miniature of Lieutenant-General Sir Alexander Woodford, KCB, KCMG, Colonel of the 40th Regiment 1842-62.

Rao and Jankoji Sindhia, the British Resident had gained the confidence of the rulers and had been able to influence political matters within the State. However, in February 1843 the situation changed with the death of Sindhia, Gwalior was a hereditary State, but Sindhia left no heir and, in accordance with Hindu custom, his thirteen-year-old widow, Tara Bai, adopted a young boy as the heir. Mama Sahib, an uncle of Sindhia, was appointed Regent and this arrangement received the approval of the Governor-General. However, the situation was unstable and, as a result of the internal political intrigues, Mama Sahib was deposed by an alliance of a former Minister of Sindhia's, Dhada Kasji, and Sinrlia's widow, Tara Bai, supported by the army. The situation remained unsettled and the British Resident, being unable to influence matters, was withdrawn in August.

At this time, the Governor-General decided that military action was now justified and orders were given to collect a body of troops on the Gwalior border. The troops were to be commanded by General Sir Hugh Gough, who had recently been appointed to the position of the Commander-in-Chief in India, and were accompanied by the Quarter Master General, Major-General Churchill. The 'Army of Exercise' was concentrated in two separate areas, at Agra to the north of Gwalior and Jhansi to the south. The troop concentrations were completed during October, and General Gough's plan of action for the campaign was prepared. His intention was to launch two simultaneous

attacks, one from the north and the other from the south, with the intention of joining forces in the area of Chonda, where the enemy army was believed to be concentrated. General Gough retained the command of the northern wing of the army, and he gave the command of the southern wing at Jhansi to General Sir John Grey. General Sir Joseph Thackwell had overall command of the cavalry units.

The two separate columns began their move towards the Gwalior borders early in December. The northern column, accompanied by the Governor-General, had reached the River Kohari by 22 December. Four days earlier, on 18 December, a reputation from Gwalior had arrived at the British camp, and had handed over Dhoda Kasji to the Governor-General, claiming he was the person responsible for the coup which had overturned the accepted Regency of Mama Sahib. The Gwaliors expected that this action alone would be sufficient to prevent any further military action against them, but Lord Ellenborough did not consider that it was adequate guarantee to ensure that peaceful and friendly relations would be maintained between Gwalior and the East India Company. Consequently he presented the Gwaliors with his terms for non-military intervention. These were a drastic reduction in the size of the Gwalior army; the acceptance of a corps of British officers; and that a satisfactory government, capable of maintaining order, be established. These terms were rejected by the Gwalior rulers, and on 29 December General Gough moved his troops forward across the River Kohari, whilst the southern column continued its move north, hav-

ing crossed the border from Jhansi on 24 December.

The troops which comprised the northern column under General Gough were as follows.

**Cavalry:** 3rd Cavalry Brigade (Brigadier Cureton) — 16th Lancers; Governor-General's Bodyguard; 4th Irregular Cavalry. 4th Cavalry Brigade (Brigadier Scott) — 1st Bengal Light Cavalry; 4th Bengal Light Cavalry; 10th Bengal Light Cavalry.

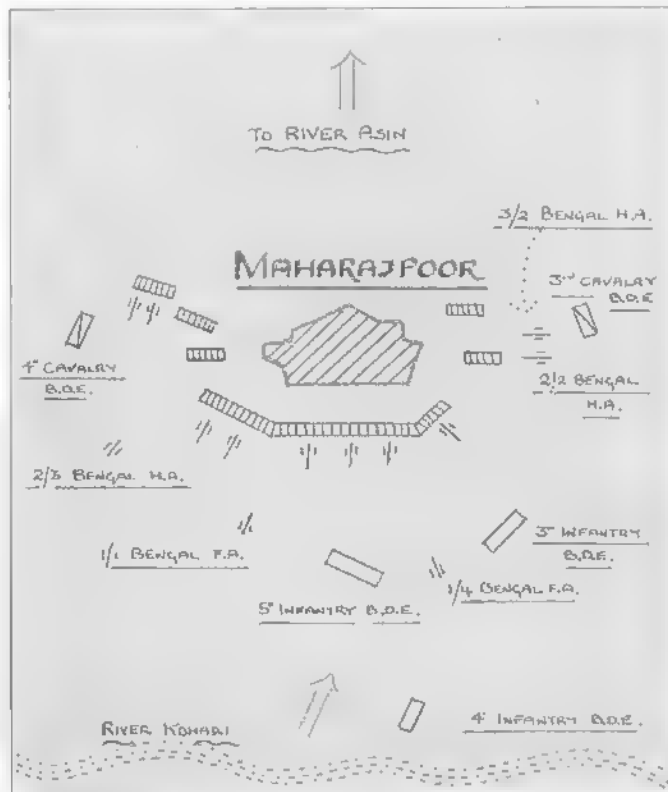
**Artillery:** 2 Troop, 2nd Brigade Bengal Horse Artillery; 3 Troop 2nd Brigade Bengal Horse Artillery (with 3rd Cavalry Brigade); 2 Troop, 3rd Brigade Bengal Horse Artillery (with 4th Cavalry Brigade). 1 Company, 1st Battalion Bengal Foot Artillery; 1 Company, 4th Battalion Bengal Foot Artillery.

A siege train equipped with 18prlr guns and 8" howitzers and manned by companies of the 4th Battalion Bengal Foot Artillery was following the main body.

**Engineers:** 3 Companies Bengal Sappers and Miners.

**Infantry:** 3rd Brigade (General Littler) — 39th (Dorsetshire) Regiment of Foot; 56th Bengal Native Infantry. 4th Brigade (Brigadier Wright) — 14th, 31st and 43rd Bengal Native Infantry. 5th Brigade (Major-General Valient) — 40th (2nd Somersetshire) Regiment of Foot; 2nd Bengal Native Infantry; 16th Bengal Native Infantry.

As a result of an earlier reconnaissance, General Gough believed that the enemy was holding a defensive position along the River Asin, about eight miles from the border. In fact, they had moved forward on 28 December to form a stronger defence position around the village of Maharajpoo. General Gough had deployed his force into



brigade columns for the approach march and with no opposition anticipated for several miles, Lady Gough and a number of other officers' wives were actually riding ahead of the troops to avoid the dust from the column of moving troops.

The first indication that the enemy was in the vicinity of Maharajpore was when the troops came under long range artillery fire. Lady Gough and her companions retired in haste. General Gough had deployed his troops for the approach march with 3 Cavalry Brigade on the right, followed in order by 3 Infantry Brigade, 4 Infantry Brigade and 5 Infantry Brigade, with 4 Cavalry Brigade, supported by 2/3 Bengal Horse Artillery on the left. 2/2 and 3/2 Bengal Horse Artillery batteries were with the cavalry on the right and 1/1 and 1/4 Bengal Foot Artillery batteries were in support of the infantry brigades.

Approaching the enemy position, the troops deployed into lines and moved forward, but the broken nature of the ground disrupted the line,

which became an echelon formation from the left. This brought 4 Cavalry Brigade first into contact with the enemy, and indeed the Brigade should have been in a position to turn the enemy's right flank, but this was prevented when the Brigade came under heavy enemy gunfire from a battery sited to the rear of the enemy right. Although 2/3 Bengal Horse Artillery galloped ahead of the cavalry to engage the enemy battery at close range, their 6pdr guns were unable to silence the heavier enemy armament.

As the 3rd Infantry Brigade approached the enemy position, with the 39th Regiment of Foot leading, the two horse-drawn field batteries of 1/1 and 1/4 Bengal Foot Artillery galloped ahead of the infantry to engage the enemy artillery, whose effective fire was causing considerable casualties. Although having some effect, the 6pdr and 9pdr guns could not completely silence the enemy fire, but the 39th Regiment of Foot steadily advanced to within effective musket range of the enemy and, after firing one massed volley into the Gwalioris, they charged with the bayonet, with the 56th Bengal Native Infantry in support. The 40th Regiment of Foot, leading the 5th Infantry Brigade, entered the attack with a storming assault on the enemy right. Within half an hour of the attack going in, the enemy, in the face of the frontal attack, pulled back in the



direction of Shirkapore. 5 Brigade, with 3 Cavalry Brigade supporting, followed the retreating enemy and cleared them from Shirkapore and occupied Maharajpore.

The enemy had withdrawn towards Chonda, but the two cavalry brigades supported by the Bengal Horse Artillery batteries were able to press the enemy and prevent them forming an effective defence position, and the 3rd Infantry Brigade was able to clear the

enemy from the position. Again the 39th Regiment of Foot led the attack, and again they suffered considerable casualties from an enemy gun position. With the enemy in full retreat, it was surprising that the two cavalry brigades were not ordered to exploit this success. Although some units suffered severe casualties, the action was successful. The enemy defences had been cleared and all opposition overcome; the enemy had withdrawn towards

3 Troop, 3 Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery at Cawnpore in 1841. The Troop was present at the battle of Punniar. The painting, by A. Bouchey, is in the Museum of the Royal Artillery at Woolwich, and the Historical Secretary of the R.A. Historical Trust has kindly agreed to the use of this illustration.



the River Asin; 56 enemy guns were captured, together with large quantities of ammunition and baggage. The total Anglo-Indian casualties were 800, with the 39th and 40th Regiments of Foot having the highest proportion. Enemy casualties were assessed at more than 3,000.

Meanwhile, 12 miles to the south, General Grey, in accordance with his orders, had continued his advance north. The troops which comprised his force were as follows.

**Cavalry:** 9th Lancers; 5th, 8th, and 11th Bengal Light Cavalry. The cavalry was organised into two brigades. The 1st Brigade was commanded by Brigadier Campbell and the 2nd Brigade by Brigadier Harriott.

**Artillery:** 1 Troop, 3 Brigade Bengal Horse Artillery; 3 Troop, 3 Brigade Bengal Horse Artillery; 6 Company, 6 Battalion Bengal Foot Artillery.

**Engineers:** 2 Companies Bengal Sappers and Miners.

**Infantry:** 1st Brigade (Brigadier Yates) — 3rd (The Buffs) Regiment of Foot; 39th Bengal Native Infantry. 2nd Brigade (Brigadier Blackall) — 50th (Queen's Own Royal West Kent) Regiment of Foot; 50th and 51st Bengal Native Infantry.

By the afternoon of 29 December, General Grey's troops had reached Panniar, where he had intended to camp overnight. Although the main body of troops had reached the camp site, the long baggage train was still moving along the valley leading to Panniar. Although aware that a strong enemy force was somewhere in the vicinity, General Grey seems to have been taken by surprise when enemy troops appeared on the hills overlooking the valley from the east. From this position the enemy were suitably placed to attack the British column's baggage train.

When the danger was realised, the Cavalry Brigades, with their supporting Horse Artillery batteries, were quickly mounted and despatched towards the enemy. 1 Brigade moved out towards the enemy's left flank, whilst 2 Brigade took the valley road to protect the baggage train. The enemy made no effort to attack the unprotected baggage train, confining themselves to long rang musket fire. Leading the way along the valley, ahead of 2 Cavalry Brigade, 1 Troop, 3 Brigade Bengal Horse Artillery, was able to establish a gun position on high ground near the village of Dhanora from where they could put down fire

on the enemy. On the British left, the 3rd Regiment of Foot, accompanied by the two companies of Bengal Sappers and Miners, had been ordered to take the enemy's right which was positioned near the range of hills. When General Grey realised the strength of the enemy, he despatched the 50th Regiment of Foot and the 39th Native Infantry to support the attack. The 3rd Regiment of Foot, with supporting fire from the Horse Artillery, succeeded in clearing the enemy right, but then came into contact with a second enemy defence line which contained a number of heavy calibre guns. As the 50th Regiment of Foot and the Native Infantry came into action against the enemy centre and left, the ensuing assault along the whole front succeeded in overcoming the determined resistance of the enemy.

The final charge by the 3rd and 50th Regiments was made in the face of both small arms and continuing artillery fire; in fact, many of the enemy gunners were bayoneted whilst still serving their guns. The enemy were eventually forced into full retreat, although they did manage to withdraw a number of their artillery pieces. Enemy casualties were estimated at something in excess of 1,000, whilst General Grey's troops casualties were in the region of 300. Twenty-two enemy guns were captured.

After these two victories, General Gough from the north and General Grey from the south, converged on the capital of Gwalior without meeting any further resistance, and the Gwalior administration had little option but to sue for peace. On 31 December Rani Tara Bai, with her advisers, approached the British camp, and Lord Ellenborough presented them with his terms for peace, which were accepted, and a treaty incorporating the terms was signed. By the terms of this treaty, the British Resident was reinstated, and the Governor-General was authorised to appoint a Council of Regency, under the control of the Resident, and which would act until the boy Maharajah came of age. The Gwalior army was to be reduced in size to 10,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry and 32 guns; 10,000 of these troops were to have British officers.

Thus the Gwalior Campaign ended advantageously for the East India Company Administration. It ensured that the Company had control over

a State which could have posed serious military problems if, as later happened, a war developed against the Sikhs. The following extract from the Governor-General's despatch sums up his view of the campaign.

'The Governor-General deeply laments the severe loss in killed and wounded which have been sustained in these operations; but it has been sustained in the execution of a great and necessary service, and the victories of "Maharajpoo" and "Punniar", while they have shed new glory upon the British Army, have restored the authority of the Maharajah and have given new security to the British Empire in India.' The Governor-General showed his gratitude to the troops involved in the two battles by the issue of a medal. This was authorised in an Indian General Order of 4 January 1844. The medal is in the form of a six-pointed star, cast in bronze, reputedly from the enemy guns captured in the two battles. There are two versions of the medal, one for each action. The name of the action at which the recipient was present, either 'Maharajpoo' or 'Punniar', is inscribed on a silver disk in the centre of the star, with the date. The medal was issued with a hook on the reverse, but many recipients had this replaced with a straight suspender and wore the medal with the rainbow type ribbon. The name, rank and Regiment of the recipient are engraved on the reverse in script. In addition to the medal award, two Battle Honours were approved, 'Maharajpoo' and 'Punniar'. The 16th Lancers, the 39th Regiment of Foot and the 40th Regiment of Foot received the former and the 9th Lancers, the 3rd Regiment of Foot and the 50th Regiment of Foot the latter.

#### Notes on the illustrations

In 1881 the 40th (2nd Somersetshire) Regiment of Foot and the 82nd (Prince of Wales's Volunteers) Regiment of Foot were renamed as the 1st and 2nd Battalions of the South Lancashire Regiment (Prince of Wales's Volunteers). As a result of the post-World War II Regimental amalgamations, the South Lancashire Regiment is now one of the three Lancashire regiments forming the Queen's Lancashire Regiment. The South Lancashire Regiment Museum is at Peninsula Barracks, Warrington, and the Curator is Colonel E.G. Bostock, who has kindly agreed to the use of these illustrations. Photographs of these items are by Gordon Cadman.

#### Facing page:

##### Croatian hussar, around 1725:

In the area known as Croatian Zagorje, 20 km north of Zagreb, a large number of baroque castles and large family manors have been preserved, together with many contemporary portraits of their owners. In the first half of the 18th century it was almost a rule for these owners to wear light blue hussar jackets (dolmans) and narrow red breeches of various cuts, trimmed according to the taste of the owner in so-called Hungarian style. According to custom, from the 16th century in the event of war and imminent danger, the nobility was required to fill up the Ban's (governor's) hussar regiment. With time, however, the requirement was to maintain a troop strength of 1,000 cavalry, so that to nominally belong to the hussar regiment and dress up in the light blue hussar dress became a question of prestige. In 1744 the light blue dress became the official uniform of the regiment.

In 1688 the Bavarian Baron Johann Baptist Lidi von Borbula recruited riders in Hungary for his hussar regiment of eight squadrons, which also included a number of Croats. The hussars of his regiment left such an impression on the Croats that dressing up like them, in their light blue dolmans and red breeches, became the local fashion. It is less well-known that besides serving in the French 8th Cavalry Regiment, 'Royale Cravattes', a large number of Croats also served in the French Ladislaw Bercheny Hussar Regiment, which was placed in Alsace near the Austrian border for that very reason — to stimulate the Hungarians and Croats to desert and join them. Their uniforms were as pictured, except that on the lower corner of their saddlecloth was sewn a yellow lily from the French coat-of-arms.

In any event, whether according to the Bavarian, Hungarian or French model, in the first half of the 18th century in Croatia, hussars wore light blue hussar dress as shown on the picture. Numerous contemporary graphics also portray hussars fighting against line cavalry with an axe. The axe was a powerful weapon with which he could attack both the horse and the rider at once. The horse is fitted with a light Hungarian bridle trimmed with silver rivets, and with crossed straps on the kneeleather. Below the horse's head hangs a decoration which later became the hussar gilt crescent. In fact these were a pair of teeth from a wild boar, so to call their later imitation a crescent was unjustified.

## *The Military Border Territory, 18th and 19th Centuries*

AN OUTSIDER CAN be excused, perhaps, if he finds the mess on the Balkan peninsula, in what was once Yugoslavia, to be terribly confusing. One can get the impression of masses of competing peoples with their differing religious traditions, deep-seated fears, hatreds, vows of vengeance and an apparent eagerness to prefer working out their differences through bloodshed rather than negotiation. Where does this come from? What kind of history

VELIMIR VUKSIC and DICK FISCHER

ANYONE CAN BE excused for finding the current situation in what was once Yugoslavia confusing. One gets the impression of masses of competing parties with different religious traditions, deep-seated fears, hatreds, vendettas and an apparent eagerness to prefer bloodshed to negotiation. Here we examine some of the root causes and look at the Croatian soldier in the time of Frederick the Great and Napoleon.

underlies such violence?

To comprehend at all what

has taken place around the

breakup of Yugoslavia and the

war that followed, it is helpful to understand a bit about the Habsburg Empire's Military Border Territory and the effect it has had on the Croatian nation. For hundreds of years, the greater part of Croatia was taken away from its historic settlers, local landowners and noble rulers, and transformed into a military colony for the defence of Vienna's Habsburgs, to be administered from a distance on the Austrian Empire's behalf. These actions sowed a demographic situation





Croatia and regimental recruiting areas, 1746-63

in the midst of a people which would prove to have major long-range and very tragic implications, right up to the present day.

Croatia's initial link to Austria was based on a recognition that, by itself, the nation did not have the resources to stand up to the Turkish tidal wave. During the 14th through 17th centuries the huge Turkish armies moved up the Balkan peninsula, gradually breaking Christendom's defences through their sheer greater numbers, superior armies and single-minded goals. One after another, dukes, despots, and principalities — the rulers of present day Greece, Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, Macedonia, Serbia, Bosnia — all capitulated before them. The Turks moved in quickly and effectively behind their armies to establish administrative systems and new military bases and outposts from which to make their next move.

#### **The Vojna Krajina (Military Border Territory)**

By the early 16th century Croatia was being terrorised by Turkish raids, its lands and wealth devastated and nobles impoverished, with its population decimated through war. So after major military defeats in 1493 and 1526, Croatia's des-

perate nobles elected Austrian Archduke Ferdinand Habsburg as their King, in return for his promise of significant military help in defending their lands against the Turks.

Ferdinand's first step was to order the creation of a unified defensive border of fortified cities, running from the Adriatic sea up to the Sava river. This marked the beginning of what was to become an extensive, highly organised and well defined Military Territory across the Croatian lands, directly and exclusively accountable to Vienna. Eventually this strip would be about one third the territory of present day Croatia, generally around 10-50 miles wide, varying greatly in places, stretching from the Adriatic Sea on the west all across Croatia. Later it would be extended as far as the Carpathian mountains in the east. The essence of the defence was a series of well-fortified cities located all along the southern border of Croatia along natural barriers and defences, such as rivers and mountains facing Turkish occupied territory. Garrisons of border soldiers, under a separate military border command, were stationed in these fortified cities located along the most probable path of the next

Turkish blow, with border patrols and guards keeping watch on the paths between cities. In between the opposing sides stretched a no man's land, devastated by Turkish raids, running the whole length of the border.

Battles were frequently fought around river and mountain passes, forts and patrol blockhouses, attempting to intercept Turkish raids or ambush them on their return. Because of the speed of the Turkish raiders, the border soldiers set up quite a sophisticated information-intelligence system, a chain of stacks of hay or straw on the high and visible peaks of preselected hills, which would be set on fire to warn others and pass the word when a raiding party was spotted. The whole population was constantly under arms, even while working their land, because of the almost constant Turkish threat.

All males between the ages of 18 to 60 on the Military Territory needed to serve in the border army in some capacity, either in the regular army or as militia reserves to be called up in case of an imminent Turkish danger. In payment each was given a hereditary plot of land, a house, and was relieved of all taxes and other duties. This

arrangement created a turbulent sociological upheaval on the Croatian lands, as many serfs crossed over into the Military Territory and became land owning freemen.

Approximately one third of the border forces were run-aways or 'Uskoks' who had fled from the occupied territory to join in the defence against the Turkish threat. Besides a significant number of foreigners, including German nobility officers in the top ranks, the Military Territory army consisted largely of Croatian nobles and other locals. Most of the cavalry forces came from the Croatian nobility.

#### **Organisation**

As the Military Territory was set more firmly in place and repeatedly reorganised, it became more and more effective in slowing down and eventually stopping the Turkish incursions. Later, as the Turkish threat receded, the unpaid militia border units evolved more and more into regular army regiments, with constantly changing administration, military organisation and deployment of forces from the Military Territory abroad, as new uses for its troops became apparent in the Empire's other wars.

In the mid-18th century the Austrian command again

## The Pandur Corps of Baron Franjo Trenck

Armed personal bodyguards and guards of estates of Croatian and Hungarian landowners, were called *pandurs* (from the Hungarian word), and were a type of militia for maintenance of order. These are first mentioned in the Austrian army during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714).

Baron Franjo Trenck (1711-1749), a landowner with great possessions in Slavonia, kept 300 of his own *pandurs* for the protection of his property, with which he used to harass bandits and thieves in his extensive forestlands. At the beginning of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748), Empress Maria Theresa allowed Trenck to raise up a unit of 1000 *pandurs* and enter her service. Some of these 'volunteers' joined Trenck's unit in order to avoid the gallows for their banditry. Each man received three or four pistols, a long Turkish knife or sabre, and long rifle. Each *pandur* provided for his own dress, a picturesque mixture of national and Turkish clothing, which created quite a sensation and a bit of curiosity in Austria and Germany. There was even a line of decorated porcelain dishes and plates portraying scenes from a *pandur's* life. It was in this context that collections of 151 copper engravings of Martin Engelbrecht (1684-1755) from Augsburg appeared in 1746, which were a valuable source regarding the appearance of this warrior from the Military Territory.

When Trenck arrived in Vienna with his colourfully clad *pandurs* on 25 May 1741, he was a true sensation, so that even the Empress came personally in her coach to meet the *pandurs*. Following the Turk's example, Trenck also added martial music to his unit, which is considered to be the earliest of its kind in Europe.

Trenck led his *pandurs* in a combination of looting raids and guerrilla warfare in Bohemia, Saxony, Bavaria, Holland and France, where he was generally remembered as a fearless and evil enemy.

The *pandur* corps grew to an infantry of 1,500 and 130 hussars. Trenck was then promoted to the rank of colonel in 1744, and his unit became a *pandur* regiment in 1745, and a regular line regiment in 1756. This was the oldest Croatian regiment, No 53, which was based in Zagreb up until 1919.



A drawing of porcelain figurines of Trenck's *pandur*. The figurines, done in the mid-18th century, were 13 inches tall, and the drawing is from the end of the 19th century. Many elements of the *pandurs'* dress and equipment can be seen. The *pandur* on the left has a fur calpac on his head, and a wool cloak, which was usually red. He is wearing trousers reinforced with leather on the knees, and light leather shoes. Hanging from the two black leather belts criss-crossing his chest, adorned with metal platelets (or silver coins, on the richer *pandurs*), is a belt with leather holsters for two pistols and an ammunition bag. He hangs his sabre on a third strap across his shoulders, so as not to interfere with his walking. The *pandur* on the right is wearing a Hussar mirliton on his head and a short jacket thrown across his shoulders. Neither of the *pandurs* is wearing a shirt, but wear their dress over their bare body.

implemented one of many major reorganisations of the Military Territory. In order to get their self-willed troops to follow orders, border militias were transformed into a regular army, with one third of the residents serving outside the country, one third in the border units and one third to stay home to work the land. In this reform almost all of the higher officer ranks were filled by foreigners and German was made the official army command language, as well as required in the schools, courts and administrative offices.

Almost from its inception it became clear that control of the Military Territory would

become a political battleground between the Croatian civilian governor and the Austrian Emperor, who was constantly seeking opportunities to supplant Croatian with Imperial administration. Vienna's early military policy was for Croatia to serve as a buffer to keep the Turkish threat far from Habsburg hereditary lands, with little help for them in regaining their own lost territory. And when territory was later recovered from the Turks, there was a continual struggle to incorporate these lands into the Military Territory (thereby annexing them to the Viennese crownlands), rather than to return them to their original

Croatian owners. Naturally this was greatly resisted by the Croatian leadership who only managed to retain one portion of the Military Territory under the governor's control.

This tension had negative practical results for Croatia. New wars with the Turks and needs for military reorganisation repeatedly served as pretexts for removing territory and governing authority from Croatian rule, and increasing the relative power of the Imperial authorities.

A sketch based on the engraving by M. Engelbrecht showing the full colourfulness of the *pandur*. All were armed with decorated Turkish rifles.





**Ban's Hussars, 1762:** In contrast to the infantry regiments of the Karlovac and Slavonian Generalates, in which a small percentage of immigrant Serbs were serving, the hussar regiments were almost exclusively Croatian. Because only young men of noble birth could serve as hussars, these regiments became the élite of the Croatian army with high morale and fighting élan. The units among the hussars with the highest prestige were the Ban's Hussars, which grew out of the Yeomanry of the local nobility that at one time, in the event of an imminent Turkish threat,

fought under the direct command of the Ban as a guard unit. At the time of their founding, 1746-1747, the border hussars were dressed in uniforms of Austrian (Hungarian) regular cavalry. One distinction of the

Ban's Hussars was that they were the only hussar regiment of the Austrian army which had different colour dolman jackets and pelisses. The colours of the border hussars were the following:

Unit	Dolman	Pelisse	Trousers	Braid	Saddlecloth
Karlovac	deep blue	deep blue	deep blue	yellow	madder red
Varazdin	madder red	madder red	madder red	white	deep blue
Ban's	madder red	deep blue	deep blue	yellow	madder red
Slavonian	deep green	deep green	madder red	yellow	deep blue

The calpac bag and dolman cuffs were madder red, and the sabretasche madder red, except for the Karlovac Hussars, which had deep blue. The number of braids on the dolman was: Karlovac Hussars, 15; Varazdin Hussars, 14; Ban's Hussars, 12; and the Slavonian Hussars 15(?)

#### Facing page:

#### Border regiment, 1746-1762:

As part of the so-called 'Hilburghausen reform' of the Military Territory in 1746, four regiments of the Karlovac Generalate were outfitted with new uniforms sewn in lower Austria and Moravia: 1. Lika (Liccaner), 2. Octocac (Orlovcaner), 3. Ogulin (Oguliner), 4. Slunij (Szlunier). The uniforms were made similar to Hungarian uniforms of 1741.

The other regiments received their uniforms after 1750. In preparation for a visit of Empress Maria Theresa to the Karlovac Generalate in 1755, in place of their worn-out ones, new uniforms were distributed to the border soldiers, which they simply burned out of protest. Their protesting was not merely because of the price, which they had to pay themselves, but also because of their appearance. After paying for the damage and suppressing the rebellion, the border soldiers complained that both the Turks and old women were laughing at them because of their uniform's appearance. Nevertheless, they marched into the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) in new uniforms with the same cut.

The border soldiers' uniforms were of the distinctive hussar cut, with details varying greatly in appearance, depending on the workshop that tailored the uniforms. There were slight differences in cut design. Hungarian knots and the number of braids (horizontal, rows of buttons) on their hussars jackets which varied from 13 to 17. Regiments of the Karlovac Generalate and Ban's regiments wore short coats with braids on the chest and sleeves. The Slavonian regiments had simple coats with facing colours on the shoulders and sleeves, and the Varazdin coats were like the Hungarian infantry. It is unclear whether the circular decorations on the lance holster were the regimental colours or whether each of the four battalions had their own combination of colours. Weapons and other equipment were the same as in Austrian regular army regiments. Pictured are the regimental ranks as in the summary table on page 24.





**Carabinieri of the Dalmatian Infantry regiment, 1812; Grenadier of the French 1st Provisional Regiment (kneeling).** The skirmishers worked in pairs, so that one always had a full rifle in the event that an enemy cavalryman or skirmisher caught them by surprise out in the open.

After Dalmatia was attached to the French Empire in 1806, a Dalmatian Legion of four battalions with 2,930 men, and a 770-man strong battalion of Istrian Rifles were recruited for the Italian Army. In preparations for the campaign into Russia in 1812, the Dalmatian Legion was reformed into the Dalmatian (Light) Regiment, while the Istrian Rifles became one battalion of the 3rd Light Infantry Regiment. Although the equipment and weaponry was like that of the French light infantry, the coat of the Italian uniform was green, with red cuffs and turnbacks, like on the Austrian coat. The plate of the French shako bears the Iron Crown of Lombardy above the RDI and the horn underneath.

After the Austrian defeat in 1809, territory was annexed to France, from which six border regiments were recruited. The 1st Provisional Croatian Regiment was founded in 1811 out of the 1st Lika and 2nd Otocac Regiments; the 2nd Regiment was founded in 1813 out of the 3rd Ogulin and the 4th Slunj Regiments; and the 3rd Regiment was formed out of the 10th Gline (1st Ban's) and 11th Petrinja (2nd Ban's) Regiments.

## The Vlachs: migration of Serbs onto Croatian soil

Huge sections of this territory had been devastated and ravaged, where the army had been unable to provide any real security and the population had either fled or was thinned out through war. Here the Austrian government engineered a mass migration of Serbs from Turkish occupied territory right into the heart of old Catholic Croatia. With the protection and administration of the military commanders, they created there a new 'state within a state', being given a high degree of self government and independence, right under the noses of the ruling governor and Parliament. These new settlers, called Vlachs, were Serbians with their own deep-seated traditions and were partisan (ie anti-Catholic) adherents to their Orthodox religion.

This served the Austrians in several ways. First, it enabled them to work the lands and restore the countryside economically in these areas depopulated by war. Secondly, these Serbs became a new, abundant supply of soldiers for the Border army. Thirdly, by their ability to successfully appeal to the military authorities over the heads of the local Croatian authorities — related to questions of religious freedom, payment of feudal dues and maintenance of order — the Serb settlements worked to weaken the Croatian self-government and replace it with greater Imperial centralisation. All this led to increasing tension between the peoples. History would clearly show the costliness of this Imperial social engineering.

## A source of soldiers for the Empire

The Empire leaned heavily on the Croatian Military Territory to fight its wars. Out of its total population of 1,000,000 in the early 18th century, Croatia alone provided 60,000 soldiers (out of a total of 80-100,000 from the whole Austrian Monarchy in 1740). Whereas in the Empire as a whole an average of one out of every 64 men served in the army, in Croatia the ratio was one out of seven. In the Austro-Turkish war (1788-1791) the Military Territory sent 100,000 soldiers into battle and lost around 24,000. In the wars against the French revolutionaries and Napoleon (1791-1801), another 100,000 were sent to battle for the Austrians, suffering losses of 40,000 troops. In the battles of 1805 they sent 48,000 troops, in 1809 it was increased to 100,000 and there were 50,000 soldiers from the Military

### Croatian Border (Grenz) Hussar and Light Infantry Regiments.

Of a total of 17 Border Regiments, the first 11 belonged to the Croatian Military Border Territory.

No.	Name	German name	Station	Raised
Karlovac Generalate (Karlovac)				
1.	Lika	Licaner	Gospic	1746
2.	Otocac	Otocacaner	Otocac	1746
3.	Ogulin	Ogulin	Ogulin	1746
4.	Slunj	Slunj	Slunj	1746
	Karlovac Hussars	Karlstadter-Grenzhusaren	Karlovac	1747
Varazdin Generalate (Varazdin)				
5.	Krizevci	Warasdiner-Creuzer	Krizevci	
6.	Durdevac	Warasdiner-St. Georger	Durdevac	
	Varazdin Hussars	Warasdiner-Grenzhusaren	Varazdin	1747
Slavonian Generalate (Vinkovci)				
7.	Brod	Brooder	Vinkovci	
8.	Gradiska	Gradiscaner	Gradiska	
9.	Petrovaradin	Peterwardeiner	Mitrovica	
	Slavonian Hussars	Slavonische-Grenzhusaren	Vinkovci	1747
Ban's Regiments (Zagreb)				
10.	Gline	1. Banal	Gline	
11.	Petrinja	2. Banal	Petrinja	
	Ban's Hussars	Banal Grenzhusaren	Zagreb	1746

Each regiment had 12 field companies, 2 grenadier companies and 4 home defence companies, together with sharpshooting and artillery detachments, making a total of 4,080 men in 4 battalions. In time of war two battalions would leave, while the third would defend the border, and serve for training recruits, and the fourth worked the land.

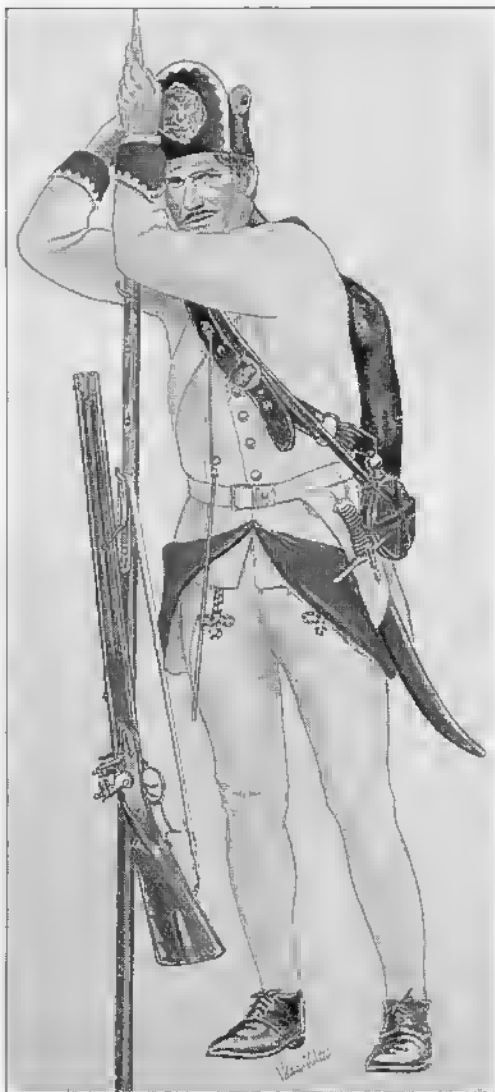
**Right:**  
**Sharpshooter of the 5th**  
**Border (Grenz) Regiment,**  
**1796:** In 1769 the border  
 infantry  
 regiments were reorganised  
 into two battalions, and instead  
 of two companies of  
 grenadiers, two companies of  
 sharpshooters (Scharfschützen)  
 were formed, totalling 256  
 men, each armed with a short,  
 two-barrelled combined  
 rifle/shotgun and an old-  
 fashioned half pike. In contrast  
 to the rough and imprecise  
 ordinary army guns of the time,  
 the short rifle M1769 was a  
 high quality and precise  
 weapon. In appearance it  
 looked more like a hunting rifle  
 than an army weapon. It had  
 two barrels of 15 mm calibre,  
 one below the other, with the  
 top barrel rifled and the lower  
 one smooth. Each barrel had a  
 separate firing mechanism. The  
 half-pike was equipped with  
 two rifle rests, one for firing  
 from the standing, and the  
 other from a kneeling position.  
 So armed, the sharpshooter  
 was able, with his rifled barrel,  
 to hit his enemy from greater  
 distances, and in the event of  
 close combat, would use the  
 smooth barrel, which he would  
 be able to fire more quickly.

Like the rest of the Austrian  
 line infantry, the border units  
 received new white or dark  
 green uniforms, white  
 Hungarian-cut trousers and the  
 'Kaskett' cap. In contrast to  
 others in the regiment, the  
 sharpshooters had scalloped  
 lace on their cap and  
 Hungarian cutlets, and also  
 differed from them in that  
 instead of a haversack on their  
 back they carried a large lilac  
 or brown leather knapsack. In  
 1780 the facing colours of the  
 border regiments were: 1. Lika  
 — violet, with yellow buttons;  
 2. Otocac — violet, with white  
 buttons; 3. Ogulin — orange,  
 with yellow buttons; 4. Slunj  
 — orange, with white buttons;  
 5. Krizevac — crab red, with  
 yellow buttons; 6. Durdovac —  
 crab red, white buttons; 7.  
 Brod — pale red, yellow but-  
 tons; 8. Cradiska — pale red,  
 white buttons; 9. Petrovaradin  
 — light pike gray, yellow but-  
 tons; 10. Glina — crimson,  
 yellow buttons; 11. Petrinja —  
 crimson, with white buttons.

Territory serving in the Empire's  
 army between 1812-15.

#### Conclusions

Not only does the Croatian  
 Military Territory go a long way  
 to explain how Austria could  
 become such a great military  
 power during this period, but  
 also, by bleeding Croatia white,  
 and by the Emperor's readiness  
 to welcome others onto Croatian  
 soil to be utilised in fighting  
 Austria's wars, one can see how,  
 in the midst of a Croatian people,



**Above right:**  
**Border Soldier, 4th Slunj**  
**Regiment, 1809:** During the  
 Napoleonic war against  
 Austria in 1809, one company  
 of 222 men from the 4th Slunj  
 Regiment, and a half-compa-  
 ny of 78 artillerymen with 10  
 cannons, defended the  
 wooden fortified (Blokhaus)  
 on the Alpine Predil pass, at a  
 height of 1,156 metres. Along  
 that path a retreating Austrian  
 army of 50,000 men was being  
 driven by a French army of  
 40,000. A French column of  
 6,000 men stopped at Predil  
 on 16 May and surrounded  
 the wooden fort. On 17 and  
 18 May the border soldiers,  
 refusing to surrender, but

proud of their own history and  
 culture, a volatile mixture of peo-  
 ples feuding over its territory  
 today came into being.

Another of the Military  
 Border Territory's enduring  
 legacies is that when Croatia  
 was vulnerable, and desperately  
 needed and was promised  
 help, what it received instead  
 was domination. Its plight was  
 taken advantage of by a sup-  
 posedly allied, but foreign,  
 power acting callously in its

when the French artillery set  
 the fort on fire they were  
 forced into a desperate attack,  
 in which almost all of them  
 were killed. The brave  
 defence of Predil and of  
 another similar fortress,  
 Malborgetta, which was  
 defended by two companies  
 of the 3rd Ogulin Regiment,  
 in which over 200 of the 300  
 defenders were either killed  
 or wounded, enabled the  
 Austrians to retreat. In 1848  
 the Austrians erected  
 memorial statues to these  
 defenders, and the pass  
 became known as 'the  
 Austrian Thermopylae'.

At the end of the 17th cen-  
 tury the official uniform of the  
 border units was white, but  
 for those serving on the

own interests, rather than for  
 the good of the people. These  
 and similar experiences  
 through the years forged a spirit  
 of national identity and gener-  
 ated an intense longing among  
 Croats to control their own  
 destiny. When under similar  
 circumstances the opportunity  
 presented itself for Croatia to  
 rid itself of that kind of burden  
 in 1991, its blow for indepen-  
 dence was all but inevitable.

Naturally, one cannot

border itself was brown, sewn  
 from homespun. As reserve  
 clothing they were permitted  
 to wear coats which they had  
 worn when not on duty or  
 while building the camps,  
 digging out earthen ramparts,  
 etc. Because of the observa-  
 tion that their black belt soiled  
 their white uniforms and the  
 fact that they already were  
 wearing brown uniforms,  
 brown uniforms were  
 prescribed for the border units  
 in 1805. A part of their  
 uniform was the shako, blue  
 Hungarian trousers, and a red  
 clack. The rest of their  
 equipment and weaponry was  
 the same as that of the line  
 regiments.

explain all of the present issues  
 of the present conflict in ex-  
 Yugoslavia through Croatia's  
 history. Other very important  
 factors — such as Serbia's his-  
 toric ambitions, the atrocities of  
 World War II and its commu-  
 nist legacy — are essential to  
 put all the pieces together. But  
 the Habsburg's obsession with  
 territory and their own security,  
 and their willingness to sacri-  
 fice a people to that end, lit a  
 terrible fuse.



# The Luger Lange Pistole '08



**Right:**  
Lange Pistolen on a simplified  
M.1910 tunic with plain cutis  
surrounded by an assortment  
of original Imperial German  
equipment.

GUY and LEONARD A-R-WEST

IN THIS FIRST of two articles on the famous 'long barrel' Luger we examine its history, construction and accessories. Next month we shall look at ammunition, loading and firing.

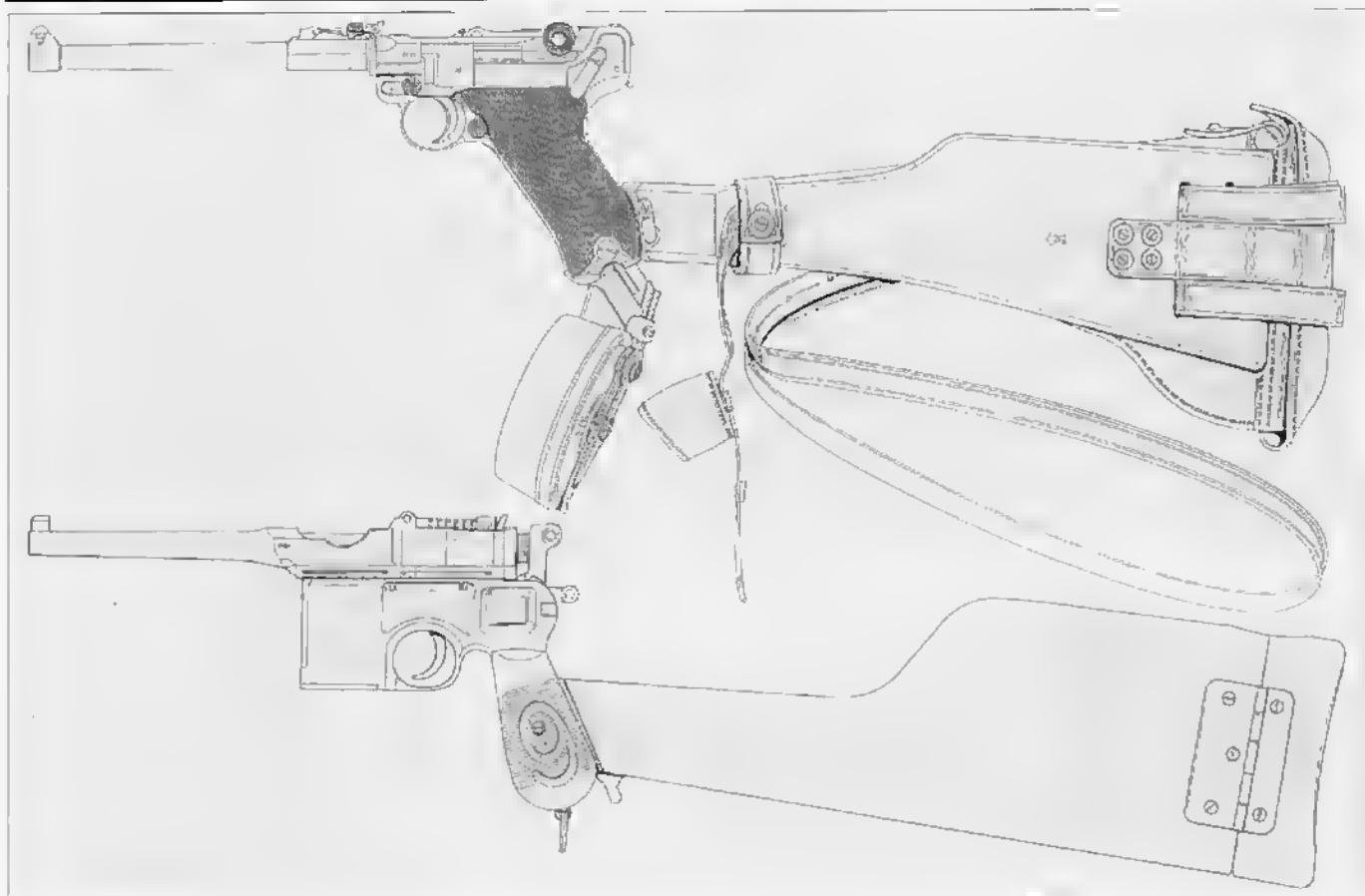


THE 'LONG BARREL LUGER' is probably the most aesthetically appealing of all the military Lugers. It is undeniably the most impressive, especially when the shoulder stock is attached. Although there are many books available, not

many specifically mention the shooting qualities and handling aspects of this fine classic pistol. It has several accessories with which to delight the collector, especially the unique 32-round magazine. In this article we provide a basic history and description of this intriguing pistol and some of its accessories concluding with a shooting test. The long barrel Luger is currently used by the enthusiast in the increasingly popular 'Classic Pistol', Shoulder-Stocked 200 yard competitions held at Bisley. Because of demand, a new stainless steel

An NCO circa 1917 shooting a L.P.'08 complete with Trommel-Magazine which also provides a stable form of support from the left hand. The T.M. were normally carried in canvas pouches in pairs, suspended from the left side of the waist belt.





Lange Pistole '08 will possibly be produced.

## HISTORY

The Lange Pistole '08 (L.P.'08), or 'Artillery Luger' to give its more familiar title, was the third and last of the Luger series to be issued to the military forces. Production ceased in 1918 unlike the Pistole '08 which continued to be manufactured early into the Second World War. The Lange Pistole was essentially a derivative of the standard Pistole '08 with a 20cm barrel and a tangent rear-sight fitted ahead of the receiver. To provide greater range and accuracy it was fitted with a 20cm (8") barrel which gave a 30.48 m/s (100 fps) velocity increase over the 101mm (4") barrel of the P.'08 — a 7.62 m/s gain (25 fps) for each 25.40mm (1") of barrel.

The L.P.'08 was intended to equip field artillerymen, specialist units and airmen with a light pistol-carbine who were previously armed with the obsolete black powder M79 and M83 revolvers, also karabiner '88 and gewehr '91. It was adopted by Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony and Württemberg in 1913. Both the private contractor DWM and the Prussian Erfurt arsenal in Thüringen were required to produce the L.P.'08 as early as 1913, but full production com-

menced in 1914, and by the beginning of the war over 200,000 were ordered.

Undoubtedly the pistol was an extremely useful short-range weapon and became quite popular, capable of hanging to bear close quarter accurate light semi-automatic firepower to the carrier. Experience of static trench warfare led to the realisation that light mobile firepower was essential; the bolt-action rifle with its long sword bayonet was a severe disadvantage in hand-to-hand fighting in the confines of a trench where the handgun, grenade, club and sharpened entrenching tool ruled. For assault and defence of the trench a more effective rapid firing weapon of greater capacity was required. By 1915 the Rifle Testing Commission at Spandau (Gewehr-Prüfungs-Kommission) had investigated the use of a converted Lange Pistole '08 to a sustained fire role. The resulting pistol fired too rapidly due to its 'closed bolt' and heated up too quickly, suffering 'cook off'\*, and, because of its lightness, could not be kept on target, so this project was discontinued. 'Full auto' with total control was to

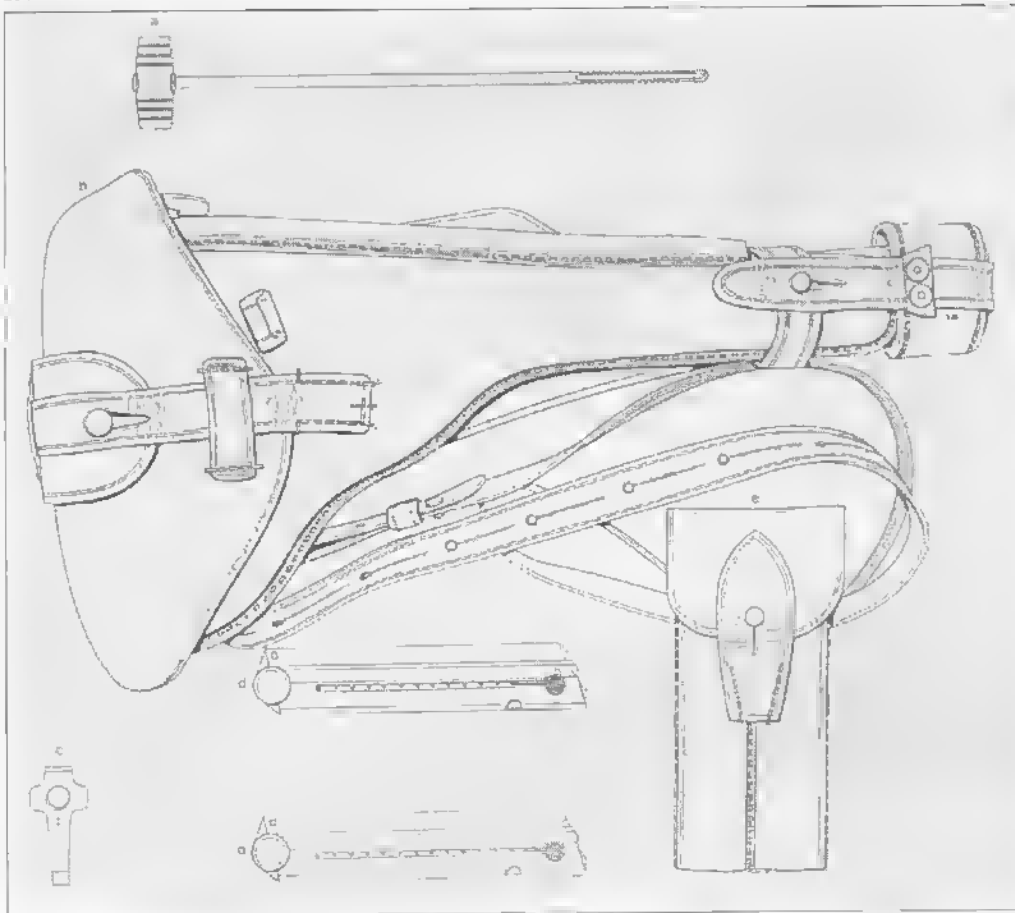
\*This term is used to describe a condition where chamber temperature is sufficient to ignite the powder without the firing pin. The MP'18.1 operated with an 'open bolt' mechanism: the sight settings were a more realistic 100 and 500 meters.

take a further 70 odd years to perfect using the latest 'electronic rate control' technology which uses an electronic battery motor to act as a rate control device. By 1917 a compromise was reached to improve its diminutive ammunition capacity by giving the soldier a larger quantity 'Trommel-Magazine' (T.M.) or 'snail-drum' as it is now commonly called, which was issued together with its special loading tool. This considerably increased firepower, and aimed with several of these T.M. magazines the L.P.'08 could produce a sustained hail of 9mm projectiles. Issue of the L.P.'08 together with the T.M. was later concentrated on forward infantry units, 'Sturmtruppen', the L.P.'08 thus equipped being in a sense a forerunner of the Bergmann Maschinenpistole 18.1 (MP'18.1) which retained the six grooved 20cm barrel giving the same muzzle velocity of 1,250 fps and T.M.

The introduction of the MP'18.1, which set the pattern for the sub-machinegun until the late 1930s, made the stocked pistol carbine concept obsolete for military purposes\*.

\*The 9mm Russian Stechkin introduced in the early 1950s which employs a holster as a shoulder stock similar to the Mauser M'96, has been in service for many years.

Comparison between stocked L.P.'08 and a 10-round 9mm Mauser Pistole M'96. The Mauser M'96 was the most successful of the Pistole '08 rivals. Its large, outlandish and unwieldy appearance is deceiving, it points and balances surprisingly well. The distinctive feature of the Mauser M'96, are its 'charget loaded' frontally mounted box magazine and unique grip which gave it the name 'Mauser Broomhandle'. The Mauser M'96 was seriously considered for Naval issue but jamming problems prevented this. It used a simpler stock arrangement; the shoulder stock is hollow, doubling as a holster. The leather harness is attached to the waist belt and incorporates a cleaning rod and a charger pouch. When later developed for sustained fire, the 'Schnellfeuer M 712' suffered the same problems as the converted L.P.'08; a large expenditure of ammunition with little practical effect. A few British Mk.VI Webley revolvers were also used with a shoulder stock arrangement and bayonet. Detachable stocked pistols were a side arm that could be carried easily on the waist belt and would be effective beyond an ordinary pistol or revolver range. Does the shoulder stocked pistol play a part in modern armies' role today? The 9mm Russian Stechkin APS employs a holster as a shoulder stock.



a) Cleaning rod. b) Leather holster (black or brown) with adjustable carrying strap. c) Combination tool for removing grips, firing pin and also acts as a lever for loading an eight-round magazine. d) Two eight-round magazines. e) Twin leather magazine pouch which could also fit on the waist belt. The leather protection boot was not fitted to the Pistole '04 shoulder stock.

The T.M. was adapted to fit them by using a detachable collar adaptor around the feed extension to prevent the magazine from being pushed into the mechanism. The clumsy T.M. which attached to a magazine housing on the left side proved to be the MP'18's drawback until replaced by a straight 20- or 32-box magazine after the war. With sustained fire the 32-round magazine was emptied in 3.5 seconds!

#### Test pistol and accessories described

In spite of its late manufacture date, the finish and fit are excellent, and the gun displays quality and craftsmanship. Manufactured in 1917 by the solitary private contractor DWM — DEUTSCHE WAF-FEN-und MUNITIONSFABRIKEN — the monogram is displayed on the rear toggle-link.

Each pistol is stamped with its actual calibre under the har-

rel rather than the *nominal* 9mm; our test pistol is marked '8,82'. Bore tolerance gauging was from 8,82 to 8,86mm. A *Beschuss-Adler* (proof eagle) is stamped in three places: on the right side under the sight hood; right side of the breechblock; and on the left side of the receiver with three inspectors' crowned Fraktur (Gothic) letters denoting receiver hardness, ready for test firing and test firing satisfactory respectively. All major component parts, trigger plate, etc., are stamped in common with contemporary German practice with the last two digits of the serial number. Markings can sometimes be found on the front strap which denote unit identifications.

Erfurt-manufactured L.P.'08 pistols are easily identified by the distinctly stylised crown over the arsenal's name on the rear toggle link. Although the finish is generally inferior to those manufactured by DWM, they are very good considering wartime conditions.

#### Controls

All the controls: safety, magazine release, sprung sight cursor button, and trigger-plate locking bolt of the L.P.'08 are on the left side. The safety lever is applied by pushing it down which raises the safety bar and in turn blocks the sear bar. When the safety has been applied *Gesichert* (safe) is dis-

played. The knurled magazine release button is situated behind the trigger and is easily reached and operated by the right thumb.

#### Operation

The L.P.'08 functions in the same way as the P.'04 and P.'08. A loaded magazine is inserted into the grip aperture pushed fully up and given a slight tap with the palm of the left hand which snaps it into its seat. To cock and chamber a cartridge the toggle is lifted up and pulled right back and then released. When the toggle is open, the same procedure is taken by inserting the loaded magazine hut in this case the toggle has only to be pulled back slightly and then released. The extractor-load indicator is now raised, inscribed on the left side is *Geladen*. This can only be seen when the pistol is loaded and can be felt in the dark: the pistol is ready to shoot. When the magazine is empty the toggle will remain open.

#### Sights

The L.P.'08 has two types of sight: one with both front and rear adjustable (prior to 1917), and the other without. Both versions have built in 'bullet drift' or 'crawl compensation' as an integral part of their tangent sight in which the leaf moves to the left approximately 7 when the cursor is at maximum adjustment. The leaf is graduat-

ed 1-7m on the left side and 2-8m on the right and is adjusted in 100m graduations with a locking cursor. On the adjustable sight version, altering the point of bullet impact is achieved by turning a set-screw with a special capstan tool. For vertical adjustment the rear sight plate can be moved 0.5mm up or down and the foresight can be laterally moved 0.5mm left or right off-centre. If the pistol has had considerable use, sometimes the cursor spring will not hold it in place making long distance shooting difficult. The chance of hitting a man-size target with a 20cm barrel at 800m with iron sights with a pistol round is remote, and even at half the distance needs luck as well as skill.

#### Magazine

Before the T.M. appeared the L.P.'08 was issued with the standard magazine. The magazine capacity is eight cartridges stacked in a single column. On its wood base, each magazine is numbered to the pistol and the spare has a '+' added. The magazine is loaded by depressing a knurled button attached to the right side of the cartridge follower. The unique combination screwdriver can be attached for added leverage as the spring is difficult to compress, especially in cold weather. Some screwdrivers bear Imperial inspectors' marks. The 'hold open device' is activated by the magazine follower when the magazine is empty. The weight of the loaded magazine is 146,56g(5.17 oz).

#### Holster

The holster is essentially a lengthened *Pistolentasche*'08 without magazine pouch and the leather is usually blackened. The holster is attached to the stock by the carrying strap which passes through slots in the stock and loops through two straps at the holster's rear. The carrying strap also acts as a lanyard as the pistol and rig can be left dangling without the muzzle coming into contact with the ground. Some holsters have been modified making the stock detachable from the holster, most probably by the owner by sewing two leather belt hangers cut from the original carrying strap. This method allows the holster to be left on the waist belt and when the stock is required it is removed from the lower loop and top strap. As the holster is so deep it is necessary to remove the pistol by a strap which, when pulled, raises the pistol allowing easy access to the grip. Tools are also carried with the holster, the combination screw-

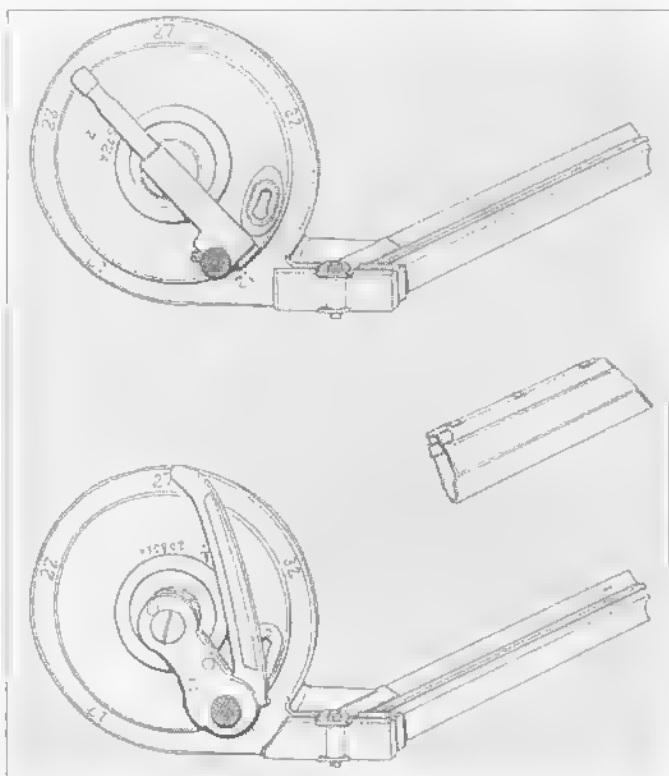
driver in a pouch under the bucket flap and cleaning rod housed along the leading edge. The 235mm long steel cleaning rod has a wooden handle which terminates in a jag tipped with brass to prevent bore and firing pin hole damage; it revolves to allow for the rifling. The holster illustrated was manufactured by G.A. ROEVER MAGDEBURG-B in 1916 and is still in its natural brown leather. The inside of the holster bears the clothing depot stamp of the 3rd Army Corps, BA III.

The bucket flap of the holster is designed to give the pistol ample protection against the elements, and must have reduced the effects of trench mud of the Western Front. However, there is a weakness with the stud-and-slit closure in which the slit gradually widened, the flap opened and the pistol fell out! The length of the holster is 350mm (13.8").

#### Magazine pouch

Two standard magazines were carried in a leather pouch fitted either to the carrying strap or on

Early (above) and late pattern (below) Trommel-Magazine. Note the magazine mouth cover, winding levers and numbers. The winding lever indicates the amount of cartridges remaining. The T.M. was copied from the Mondragon magazine. The T.M. can be used without the shoulder stock, hardly affecting the balance of the pistol. It can be used with the P'08 as well, also with the shoulder stock.



the waist belt; contemporary photographs show a maximum of two pouches worn giving a reserve of 32 rounds. The weight of the pouch with two loaded magazines is 393.44g (13.9 oz).

#### Shoulder stock

To be fully effective the L.P.'08 has to be fitted with the shoulder stock. This consists of a simple 15mm thick walnut board stock, attached to the holster by a hanging strap. The leather boot protects the attaching iron and has to be removed before the pistol can be attached. The marking on the leather boot of our example is MAURY & CO OFFENBACH AM., Luisenstrasse. The stock attaches easily to the pistol and is locked by a thumb lever on the left side. The top of the attaching iron is stamped with the pistol's full serial number and suffix. The left side of the stock has a

crowned inspection mark which still bears traces of red paint. The design of the board shoulder stock was based on the Naval P.'04 although it is slightly longer. The stock can be removed or attached to the pistol with the standard magazine inserted but not with the T.M. The rig is somewhat complicated when compared with shoulder stocked Mauser M96.

The length with pistol attached to shoulder stock is 680mm (26.8"), and the weight of complete shoulder stock including carrying strap and magazine pouches with 16 rounds is 1,318.44g (2.91lb).

#### Trommel-Magazine

The T.M. was developed from the Mexican-designed Mondragon Selbstlader-Karabiner 15 which used a 30-round drum magazine. The design was attributed to two Austro-Hungarians, von BenkP and Tatarek. When the T.M. and stock is added, the combination makes quite a useful light carbine for the user who could engage targets effectively around 100-200m with quite an impressive firepower compared to a rifle and was far handier. The idea is basically a sound one taking into account the limitation of the diminutive standard magazine capacity.

Cartridge supply is driven by a pre-wound helical spring within the Trommel-Magazine casing. When fully loaded, 20 cartridges are housed in the magazine body and twelve in the feedway. The drum is marked 12, 17, 22, 27 and 32; indicating the amount of cartridges remaining corresponding to the winding lever. The T.M. was prone to jamming when using the truncated cone pattern ammunition, and the later ogival pattern reduced the feed problem.

The T.M. example illustrated is the later more rigid type

Aerial duel over the Western Front: The observer of a German two-seater reconnaissance Aviatik B1 engages a Morane-Saulnier Type 'L' scout with his Lange Pistole '08. The more powerful 8mm Selbstlader-Karabiner Mauser and a 7mm Flieger-Selbstlader-Karabiner 15 (Mondragon) were also used by airmen for defence before the general use of aerial machine-guns.

with double concentric-rings and the folding winding level which provides better leverage than the older telescoping unit which was prone to bending. The top left side bears a crowned inspector's mark similar to the mark on the left side of the shoulder stock. The sheet-steel dust cover also protects the magazine mouth when separated from the pistol; our specimen is painted black and has no manufacturer's markings.

An instruction manual was issued for use with the T.M. The T.M. was issued in boxes containing five with one loading tool and ammunition. Our example, a late model, has the serial number 258054 and a B over N repeated on both sides of the drum which identifies the manufacturer as Gebrüder Bing of Nürnberg and a crowned inspector's mark on the left side of the feedway. A few other contractors were also involved in manufacturing them. The T.M. was unique to the L.P.'08 but it can be used in the P.'04 (used by the Kaiserlich Marine) and P.'08. Apparently a 100-round drum had supposedly been developed which looked similar in appearance to the 32, but none have yet been examined. Weight of T.M. unloaded is 72.93g (grams) (1.61lb); fully loaded with 32 ogival pattern: 1,111.9g (2.451lb)

To be concluded

# Brudenell, Nolan and That Fateful Message

NEIL LEONARD

INFORMATION ON the career of Captain Edward Lewis Nolan, 15th Hussars, has been hard to come by, and hardly ever appeared in print. However, a delve into the archives of the 15th Hussars regimental museum has shed a great deal more light onto the life and times of the man who delivered that fateful message from Lord Raglan to Lord Lucan, prior to the gallant, but disastrous charge of the Light Brigade.

BEFORE EXAMINING the career of Captain Nolan it is first necessary to take a look at the early career of another man, a man who, although he commanded the 15th Hussars as Lieutenant-Colonel, was not over popular with the regiment. As it was a message delivered by an officer of the 15th that sent him charging at the head of the Light Brigade into the valley of death, it is therefore important that we first consider the early military career of James Thomas Lord Brudenell, later 7th Earl of Cardigan, and his connection with the 15th Hussars.

James Thomas Brudenell was born on 16 October 1797, son of the nephew and heir of the Earl of Cardigan; he was from the outset of his life something extremely special. He had one elder sister, and was to be followed by seven more girls. From his earliest recollection he had been the most important, the most spoilt, and the most domineering child in the family. As a result he was to

grow up arrogant, headstrong and very stubborn; as a young man no servant or even equal dared to contradict him for fear of the terrible rages that he would fly into.

Upon the death of the 5th Earl in 1811, his father succeeded as the 6th Earl of Cardigan. Throughout this period the Napoleonic Wars were raging across Europe, and boys as old as the young Lord Brudenell were allowed to march off to war with their regiments in the Peninsula while the newspapers were full of the exploits of the British armies and their victories over the French under the command of the Duke of Wellington. These reports were to inspire the young Lord with dreams of military glory, and a yearning to join the army that was to be frustrated for many years, before his parents were finally to concede and allow him to join; as the only male Brudenell he was far too important to be risked on the field of battle.

## Military ambition

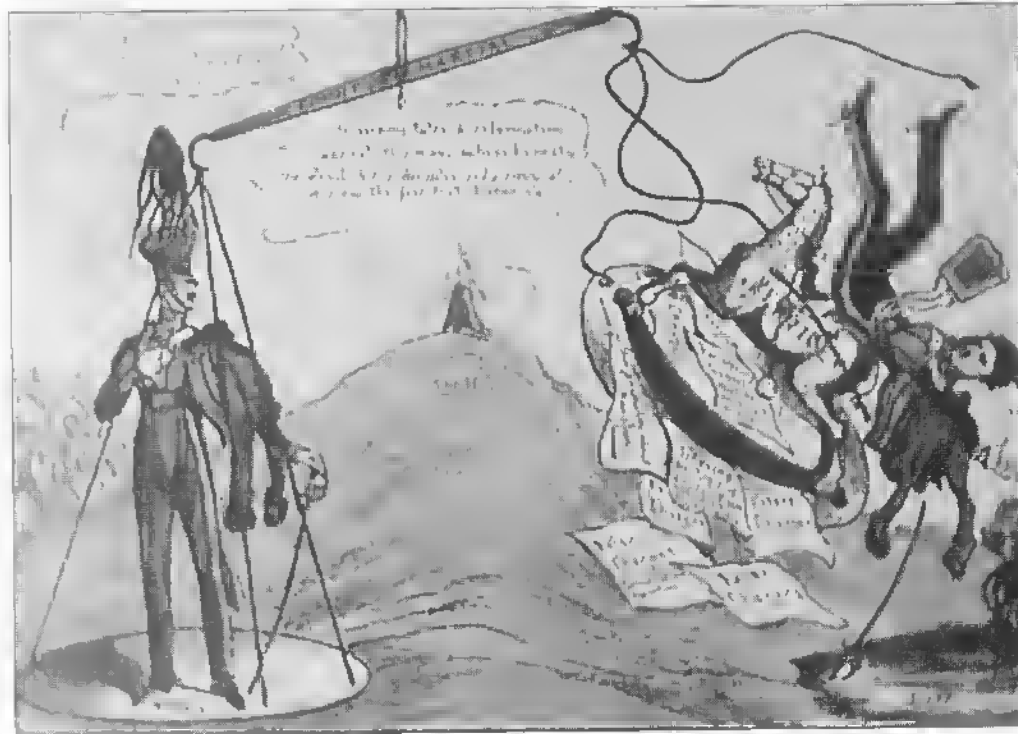
The military ambition of the young Lord Brudenell was forced to wait, and it was not until May 1824 that this ambition was finally realised. At the somewhat elderly age of 27, he began his military career as a cornet in the 8th Hussars; six months later he was promoted Captain. As a Captain he was a stern disciplinarian, paying great attention to the minutest details of dress, smartness and cleanliness of uniform and equipment; no minor detail escaped his meticulous attention.

Today it seems incredible that a man could become a Captain in the British Army after only six months' service, followed by Colonel after a total of only eight years service. However, at this period in time, the purchase system was at its height, and in times of peace, such as had been the case since the end of the wars with France,



**Above:**  
Watercolour by Blanchwood Montray Reid circa 1840, shows off the undress uniform of an officer of the period perfectly.

**Below:**  
The Lordling and the veteran (Lord Brudenell, later Lord Cardigan) and Captain Wathen. Coloured etching by William Heath circa 1834.





*The gentleman's magazine of fashion, a dismounted officer in review order, coloured engraving by William Heath.*

*Military dress of the British cavalry. Coloured aquatint by William Heath circa 1820.*



*15th King's Hussars. A coloured aquatint by Denis Dighton circa 1830.*

*Costume of the British Army: a Private of the 15th Hussar regiment circa 1827.*



the chance of promotion without purchase was very slim indeed. Often men with years of military experience were stuck in the junior to middle ranking posts for years, whilst those with the money to buy their way up to the top got there in a very short time. One such was the young Lord Brudenell, who purchased the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the 15th Hussars in 1832, at a price estimated at the time as being between £35,000 and £40,000. This rather large sum of money was far and above the established price for the purchase of a regiment. The authorities, however, turned a blind eye to it, and the money was paid to the outgoing Colonel of the regiment, Joseph Thackwell. Colonel Thackwell had served with the regiment for 32 years and had been with the regiment for the duration of the Peninsula campaign and the Waterloo campaign.

Colonel Thackwell had been a man who had demanded very high standards; as Lord Brudenell himself. But, Thackwell had been a kind and considerate man, he was also very fair and courts martial and floggings were a rarity in the 15th under his command; the regiment at the time of the handover was a happy one, almost free of crime. Inspecting General Officers had noted that the 15th Hussar Regiment was 'run efficiently and well, both officers and men knew their duties'.

#### Viewed with displeasure

Lord Brudenell had bought his way into one of the best light cavalry regiments in His Majesty's service, well noted for its efficiency, smartness of turn out and economy of expenditure. Despite this, Lord Brudenell was to view them with displeasure after only a few short months. A regiment noted for its economy with regard to expenditure, especially in terms of items of dress, was not going to live up to the ideas that he entertained, as to how a cavalry regiment should look. He wanted more dash, more glitter, more spit and polish, he wanted a regiment mounted on the finest chargers, who performed their drills at the canter not at the trot, he wanted dashing young officers from the best families in the land, not the middle aged men who presently officered his regiment and had been with the 15th for years. Lord Brudenell set about changing things and after a while he was genuinely surprised to find that he was being opposed by his officers.

He tried to flog, reprimand and discipline the 15th into his ideal. Opposition he found unacceptable in the extreme.

In 1832 the 15th were stationed in Ireland. Lord Brudenell was apt to drill the regiment at breakneck speed, and after a few weeks at this sort of pace many of the horses lost condition and weight. As a result of this weight loss the saddle trees were ill-fitting, and began to damage the horses' backs; after a particularly gruelling march from Newbridge to Carlow, large numbers of horses were to develop sore backs. In one troop particularly, Captain Wathen's Troop, the number was highest.

As the months went by Lord Brudenell's disapproval of his officers focused on one man, Captain Wathen. Captain Augustus Wathen was a competent officer who had 20 years' service behind him, and was a veteran of the Waterloo campaign, a man who was well liked and respected by his fellow officers and the men of his troop.

Late in 1833 Colonel Lord Brudenell ordered some new stable jackets and cloth overalls for some of the men in Captain Wathen's troop. This was to provoke some discontent amongst the men, as necessities such as these had to be paid for by the men themselves: 18 shillings for a stable jacket and 18 shillings and six pence for the cloth overalls. The men would be put under stoppages of pay until the debt was paid in full, which represented a large deficit on the troops books of Captain Wathen. At the same time other men in the regiment were issued new stable jackets and cloth overalls, but the debt was not recorded on the troop books of the other officers. A general inspection was due to be made by Major General Sir Thomas Arbuthnot, and the deficit was duly pointed out to the Major General, showing Captain Wathen in a very bad light as a man who could not manage his troop accounts in a competent manner.

#### Court martial

The account of the following General Court Martial of Captain Augustus Wathen, held at Cork from 23 December 1833 to 16 January 1834, is too long and complex an issue for the scope of this short article. However, he was charged with six trumped up charges by Colonel Lord Brudenell, ranging from improper conduct to Lord Brudenell himself and Major General Sir Thomas Arbuthnot, and conduct unbecom-



15th Hussars dismounted Private circa 1832. Oil painting by H. Payn circa 1891.



Edward Mockler, assistant surgeon to the 15th Hussars from 1840 to 1846.

coming an officer and a gentleman; all of which were eventually disproven.

The press in both Ireland and mainland Britain got hold of the story from the outset. This affair over the stable jackets was to be the first in a long line of blunders and controversies made by Lord Brudenell such as the 'snooks' affair and, most

famous of all, the 'Black bottle affair' wrongly attributed to Captain Nolan in the film *Charge of the Light Brigade*.

The affair over the trial of Captain Wathen was to lead to the downfall of Lord Brudenell, and as a result he was removed from the command of the 15th Hussars. At a period in history when illiteracy was fairly high, it was ordered that the findings of the General Court Martial be read out loud at the head of every regiment in the service, the only effective way of informing the troops at that time of any general orders or even daily routines.

Even after the intense media coverage of the trial of Captain Wathen, it was not long before Lord Brudenell was again at the head of another regiment, this time the 11th Light Dragoons, the regiment that he was to lead at the charge of the Light Brigade as the 11th Hussars. This title change was received on the regiment's return from India in 1840; as the regiment had been chosen to meet Prince Albert at Dover and escort him to London, it was duly renamed the 11th (Prince Albert's Own) Hussars. **MI**  
**To be concluded**

# Early Uniforms of the Lancashire Hussars

FRANCIS A. FARRELL became a Lieutenant in the 7th Queen's Own Hussars in 1846. Retiring from the Regular Army, he was gazetted to the Lancashire Hussars in the same rank on 26 November 1851. This commission was resigned, for unknown reasons, in 1853, but he rejoined the Yeomanry two years later on 19 April 1855, finally leaving again in 1859. He was of Irish extraction, being the second son of John Farrell, JP, DL, of Moynalty, County Meath<sup>1</sup>.

The uniform which was described as 'important' and in 'immaculate' condition came up for sale at Phillips of London in 1982. It was purchased for the County Museum as a result of a combined effort by the County Museum Service, Victoria and Albert Museum Purchase Fund, and the Trustees of the Duke of Lancaster's Own Yeomanry. Whether it relates solely to the time that Farrell first joined the regiment in 1851, or to 1855, or to a combination of both dates, is not known for sure. As purchased the uniform comprised twenty parts contained in a japanned trunk, with a separate metal box for the busby and tube for the plume. From these items the complete full dress has been extracted for display leaving in store only a few sundries such as the pillbox cap.

The full dress uniform consists of busby, jacket, pelisse, overalls, sabretache, boots, belts and lines. The busby is of brown fur nine inches tall with a white over crimson egret leather plume. The bag or 'fly' is also crimson and the gilt chin chain is secured by lions' heads at the sides. The headgear is therefore similar to that of the regular 11th Hussar pattern for officers as set down in 1846<sup>2</sup>.

The single-breasted blue jacket is richly ornamented with rows of braid. The central buttons are ball shaped, the decorative buttons on either side being ball balls and gold knots decorate the shoulders, sides and cuffs. The pelisse is similarly decorated, with a total of 26 rows of double gold cords and buttons, and the whole is edged with sable fur throughout. The matching overalls are striped and are decorated with a single broad stripe of gold lace.

The barrel sash is of crimson and gold constructed in six major cords and finished off

Dr STEPHEN BULL

IN THE FIRST part of this article documentary and pictorial sources for the uniforms of the Lancashire Hussars in the period 1848-1870 were examined. In this, the concluding part, we look at the surviving uniform of Lieutenant Francis Arthur Farrell circa 1855.

with large acorns. The crossbell is decorated with gold lace and has arrow style decorative vent pricklers to the front. The waist belt was an 'S' clasp and hoses which are again decorated with lions' heads, the main part of the belt being scarlet morocco with gold lace. Most striking is the crimson cloth-faced sabretache which is edged with a broad band of lace and has at its centre a crown over a Lancashire rose which is itself superimposed on a double reversed 'VR' cypher<sup>3</sup>.

The sword pictured with the ensemble is not originally associated with the unit but has been added for the sake of completeness. It is a 'three bar' hilted officers' 1822 pattern sword of a type likely to have been carried by the regiment, though it should be noted that ivory gripped 'Mamluke' style swords could also have been used on ceremonial occasions. A red and gold cord 'acorn' sword knot did come in the original Farrell trunk.

Also included with the full dress uniform were a number of items which are not displayed with it. These are a pair of boots, covers for the sabretache and pouch belt, two pairs of 'box' spurs, and a 'pillbox' forage cap. The boots are of 'hessian' style, extremely light and flexible and edged around the top with gold lace. The leather covers for the sabretache and pouch belts are very neat in design and both of brown leather. Both could conceivably have been attached whilst the sabretache and pouch were being worn.

The pillbox cap is perhaps

*Uniform from the front with the pelisse slung. The apparently casual positioning of the pelisse is achieved by means of a hook on the left shoulder of the jacket. The cord runs under the right arm and is secured by a hook and toggle. The busby with its chin chain, cap lines, crimson bag and plume rests on the table. The plume is white over crimson egret feathers and a gilt ball fitting.*

the most interesting of the accessories. The body of the hat is crimson felt, whilst the leather laced band which bears the initials 'FAF' inside, has two rows of gold lace around the outside. It is piped black or very dark blue and the top is adorned with gold braid and an embroidered hutton.

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## Notes

1. T.A. Earle, *List of Officers who have Served in the Lancashire Hussars, Yeomanry Cavalry with some Short Notes and Annals of the Regiment*, Liverpool, 1889.

## Overleaf, left:

*The full dress uniform of Lieutenant Francis Arthur Farrell, Lancashire Hussars, circa 1855, in a period setting, County and Regimental Museum Preston. Notice the pelisse, thrown over a chair to reveal the crimson quilted lining and the cord by which it is secured around the body.*

## Overleaf, right:

*Rear view, revealing the sabretache and the hanging straps, three for the sabretache and two for the sword.*

2. See W.Y. Cairn, *Dress Regulations 1864*, pp121-125.

3. See also W.Y. Cairn, *Some English Yeomanry Sabretaches*, London 1987, and A. Sleight (ed), *The Royal Militia and Yeomanry Cavalry Army List*, London, 1850, p18.





AS SUMMER approached and with it the end of the season, late June and early July saw a fairly busy schedule for the various auction houses. Naturally with a fair number of sales there have been some interesting lots through the various rooms. Early in June Wallis and Wallis had a good sale with some very interesting items of militaria and the results suggest that early British Army buttons seem to be in demand. One lot of eight Victorian examples made £55 and six pre-1881 officers' gilt buttons realised £80. British army head-dress badges continue to rise in value and a silver glengarry badge of the King's Own Scottish Borderers with assay marks for 1918 realised £240. Another Scottish item, a feather bonnet of The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, sold for £575. Christie's held a big sale of arms and armour on 16 June which included the pair of flintlock pistols mentioned in last month's column. They were the property of the American hero Lafayette who was a Frenchman who actively supported the colonists during the American

## THE AUCTION SCENE

War of Independence. Silver mounted and in good condition with a provenance such as this it is not surprising that they sold for £34,500. However, compared with the £105,000 paid for the revolver that killed Jesse James the price seems cheap and would seem to suggest that villains are better business prospects than heroes.

Incidentally, some more Wild West guns will be on offer at the Wallis and Wallis Connoisseur's Sale in October. These include one of Jesse James' personal revolvers, the gun that killed Wild Bill Hickok and a Winchester rifle owned by several noted lawmen. The same sale will include one of Herman Göring's sporting rifles.)

In the same sale a delightful little double-barrelled flintlock pistol by Joseph Egg, circa 1821, sold for £6,900. A particularly fine mediaeval Italian sword once stored in the armoury of Alexandria and dating from the mid-14th century sold

well for £25,300, well above top estimate. The cheapest lot of arms was Lot 22, two Scottish dirks which sold for £115.

On 16 July Sotheby's held one of their theme sales which on this occasion was a Marine one. The lots included anything with a naval association such as paintings of the sea and ships, navigation instruments, scrimshaw and a few weapons. Although they were few in number the swords were particularly interesting. The powerful East India Company held a virtual monopoly of trade with India and defended it with an army and a substantial navy. Their ships, the East Indiamen, were well built and last and the crews were generally of a high standard. The captains were also a redoubtable bunch and one, William Moffat, was outstanding; in this sale Sotheby's offered a group of five swords, four of them presentation pieces and the property of Captain Moffat.

This remarkable man joined the East India Company in 1799 and arrived in India soon after the battle of Seringapatam when trophies of the defeated ruler, Tipoo Sultan, were readily available, for one of his swords came from the dead ruler's palace. Of more interest were the four presentation swords given to Captain Moffat including one which must be unique. It was presented to him by the Captain and officers of a French privateer which had been captured by him. The other three swords were equally important and it is not surprising that they sold as a group for £23,000. It is worth noting that the collection of Patriotic swords held by Lloyds includes one presented to Moffat. The sale did well with a final buy-in figure well below 10%.

Sotheby's, at their Sussex Rooms at Billingshurst, had a sale of arms, armour and militaria on 28 July with some 200 lots. The sale was very well attended and the traders were ready to buy. The overall results were very satisfactory with a very small amount unsold. It was soon apparent in the rooms that anything of good quality was going to sell and sell fairly well. The general impression was that things might just be starting to pick up again.

As always Third Reich edged weapons sold well at around the £200 mark. A Weimar Republic dress dagger realised £340 which was the top price in this field. Surprisingly high prices were realised by World War II Japanese swords, the majority fetching around £500. A naval presentation sword to a lieutenant for his conduct at the taking of Sidon in 1842 rose to nearly double its estimate and sold for £4,300. It may have been an appearance in a BBC 'Antiques Road show' which was responsible but suddenly a positive flood of Fairbairn Sykes World War II fighting knives have appeared on the market selling at around the £100-£150 mark.

Frederick Wilkinson

### Top far left:

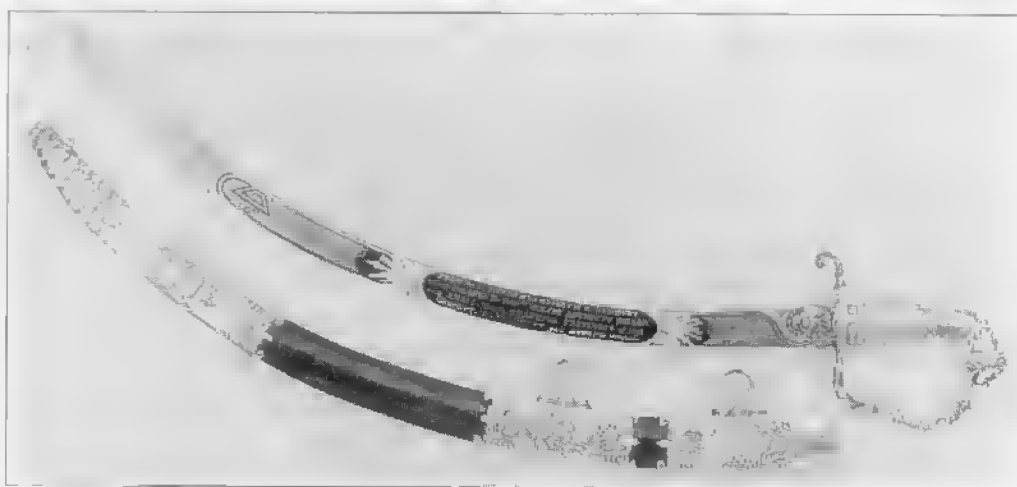
A rare bell-top shako of the 12th Regiment complete with its chin chain and pom-pom. This good example sold for £3,400 at the Sotheby's Billingshurst sale on 28 July.

### Top left:

Good quality blue cloth helmet of an officer of the 2nd Volunteer Battalion of the Derbyshire Regiment. £680 at the same sale.

### Left:

A silver gilt and enamel presentation sword from the officers of the 101st Regiment to their Colonel the Hon Henry Augustus Dillon. The regiment was raised in 1805 and disbanded in 1817. The sword realised £14,950 at the Christie's sale on 16 June, well over the estimate.



# ON THE SCREEN

**Video releases to buy**  
**The Dam Busters** (Warner Home Video: U)  
**Dambusters — The True Story** (DD Distribution: E)  
**Tunisian Victory** (DD Distribution: E)  
**The Boer War** (Castle Vision: E)  
**The Great War** (Castle Vision: E)  
**World War Two** (Castle Vision: E)  
**World War One** (Wonderland: E)  
**World War Two** (Wonderland: E)

MAY 1993 saw the fiftieth anniversary of Operation 'Chastise', the famous raid by 19 Lancaster bombers of 617 Squadron from RAF Scampton, Lincolnshire, on dams in the Ruhr valley. The Möhne and Eder dams were breached, and the Sorpe dam damaged, but eight planes were lost. The attack was led by 24-year-old Wing Commander Guy Gibson, who was killed over Holland in July 1944, flying a Mosquito while acting as master bomber for another raid near the Ruhr. Gibson had told the story of the dams raid in his book *Enemy Coast Ahead*, and this and other material was used by Paul Brickill in *The Dam Busters*. His book about the wartime exploits of 617 Squadron. Both books were drawn upon by R.C. Sheriff while writing the screenplay for Michael Anderson's 1954 film *The Dam Busters*. This film has now been re-released by Warner Home Video to coincide with the anniversary.

The film begins in spring 1942 with Dr Barnes Wallis (Michael Redgrave) convinced that the destruction of the dams can shorten the war, but aware that his ten ton 'earthquake' bombs, still on the drawing-board, would be too heavy for any available aircraft. His initial experiments bouncing marbles off a wash-tub in the back garden of his Surrey home are directed at solving the problem of placing a smaller bomb at the base of a dam. He convinces a Whitehall committee to allow him to conduct 'bouncing bomb' experiments on model dams at the RAF's experimental station at Harmondsworth, and at the National Physical Laboratories' experimental ship tank at Teddington. Test drops from a Wellington bomber are encouraging, but Wallis fails to secure the necessary support from Air Chief Marshal Arthur 'Bomber' Harris (Basil Sydney). However, Churchill intervenes, and a new squadron is formed by Air Vice-Marshal Ralph Cochrane (Ernest Clarke), to be led by Wing Commander Guy Gibson (Richard Todd), only two months before the crucial date when the water level at the dams will be highest. Before then it is necessary to overcome the practical difficulties of flying at the correct height and speed, and dropping the bombs at the correct distance of from the tar-

gets, all at night. The remainder of the film deals with the raid itself.

Four Lancaster bombers were made available for filming, and many personnel involved in the raid, including Barnes Wallis, assisted the production. Details of the exact shape of the bombs were not released until 1963, so an educated guess had to be made. Inevitably, the destruction of the dams is conveyed with the use of models; the special effects team found it impossible to create convincing explosions, and superimposed an obviously faked photographic effect on the film. This masked what otherwise had been most convincing special effects, particularly of tracer bullets from Lancaster turrets or German flak batteries. The destruction caused by millions of tons of water cascading down the valley is vividly portrayed. The effects team were nominated for an Academy Award, but lost to Mark Robson's Korean War drama *The Bridges at Toko-Ri* (1954). However, *The Dam Busters* is a most authentic recreation of the events, and remains a fitting tribute to all those involved in the mission.

*Dambusters — The True Story* is a documentary especially commissioned to coincide with the anniversary. It describes the development of both versions of the bouncing bomb, the small Highball for use against ships and never used operationally, and the larger Upkeep which would ultimately breach the dams. It includes recently unearthed film of 617 Squadron practising just days prior to the raid. The programme features interviews with surviving pilots and the raid is illustrated by generous clips from Michael Anderson's film, intercut with documentary material and specially shot footage of the bomb spinning before release, a detail conspicuously absent from the feature. It ends with some discussion of the value of the raids, concluding that although the Germans rapidly repaired the dams, the diversion of their resources and the propaganda value contributed to ultimate Allied victory. The programme gives a brief glimpse of the modern 617 Squadron, now flying Tornados, and the narration is appropriately by Richard Todd.

The success of Roy Boulting's *Desert Victory* (1943) (reviewed 'M' 62) made inevitable a film about 'Acrobat', the campaign which culminated in the capture of Tunis. When the Americans proved uncooperative in providing footage of their own operations, Roy Boulting made *Africa Freed*, which concentrated on British operations, but acknowledged the American contribution. In America, Frank Capra had been named to produce a film on the subject, but the US War Department suggested that Capra's and Boulting's material be

combined into a single film. Minister of Information Brendan Bracken readily agreed, as a result of which Capra came to Britain to collaborate with Hugh Stewart, who had led the Army Film and Photographic Unit (AFPU) unit at the front. The need to ensure that the finished film was acceptable both to the British and the Americans led to *Tunisian Victory* not being released until 1944.

The film begins with two convoys on the high seas, one from America and one from Britain. It then flashes back six months earlier when Churchill and Roosevelt had agreed on Operation 'Torch', the invasion of North-West Africa. The plan was to eject the Axis forces from North Africa, thus preventing them linking with their forces in Russia, then approaching the Middle East. We see factories producing armaments, warships launched, troops training and embarking on ships. Five days out at sea the troops learn their destination: simultaneous landings are to take place at Casablanca, Oran and Algiers. There is token resistance from Vichy French troops. After some lighting, the Allied forces occupy a line of hills in the north, while further south, General Montgomery faces the Maath line. Rommel's attacks in the south are halted. In the north he successfully pushes back the Americans at the Kasserine pass, but is again forced to withdraw. The remainder of the film deals with Montgomery's drive northwards to link with the British First Army, the Free French and the Americans. Bottling up the Axis forces in Tunis is graphically compared to a piston in a cylinder.

The film features considerable footage of the actual events, including captured enemy material.

The British sections of the film have a simplified version of J.L. Hodson's script for *Africa Freed*, narrated by actor Leo Genn. In addition, Burgess Meredith and Bernard Miles impersonated Joe McAdams and George Metcalfe, intended to represent typical American and British soldiers. The film is less successful than *Desert Victory*; a lengthy and sentimental Christmas at the front section slows the pace, and William Allwyn's score was ditched in favour of one by Dmitri Tiomkin.

Castle Vision have released four programmes dealing with 20th century military history, available exclusively through W.H. Smith. *The Boer War* is an 80-minute documentary which well explains the causes and main events of the war. It is illustrated mainly with contemporary still photographs and maps and engravings, with some brief moving picture footage. It is narrated by actor Robert Powell, and is a good introduction to the subject.

*The Russian Civil War* begins with a brief description of Russian involvement in World War I, and the armistice with Germany after the

successful Bolshevik revolution. The majority deals with the attempt by White Russians and Allied powers to overthrow the revolution and reinstate the monarchy. The producers have gained access to Russian archives to obtain rare footage illustrating the major campaigns and important personalities. The result is a most interesting documentary which well explains the complexities of a war that lasted from 1920 to 1924.

*The Great War* begins with the immediate causes of the war, and during its total running time of about 100 minutes attempts to deal with the strategic, political, economic and domestic aspects of the war. It is entirely illustrated with documentary footage, although a few shots from reconstructions or feature films are evident. It may be unreasonable to expect illustrative material to be actual footage of what is being explained, but there is no excuse for the famous World War II shot of HMS *Barham* exploding being used to illustrate a World War I naval action. The military details concentrate on Europe, with campaigns in Gallipoli and Palestine hardly mentioned.

The companion volume, *World War Two*, has a longer total running time of 150 minutes, but concentrates on the European and North African theatres of operations. The first tape ends with Dunkirk, while the second ends with the Fall of Berlin. There is little of the war against Japan, apart from a description of the Battle of Midway. Both programmes are narrated by actor Patrick Allen. They each come with a simple colour paper map showing European alliances at the commencement of each conflict.

Wonderland have also released programmes dealing with the two world wars. *World War One* well explains the complex alliances which made a global conflict inevitable, and commendably deals with the aftermath, particularly the implications of the Treaty of Versailles, the formation of the League of Nations and the rise of Fascism. However, with a total running time of only 60 minutes, its military detail is limited. Illustrative material is mainly documentary footage and still photographs, but there appears to be a higher proportion of reconstruction or feature film material than the Castle Vision release.

*World War Two*, with a similar running time, attempts to cover the whole war and ends with the defeat of Japan. These are American productions which emphasise American participation. They were originally produced in short segments of about ten minutes: as a result the narration is punctuated at regular intervals by credits denoting the beginning and end of each segment. Wonderland have stated an intention to improve this through editing when further batches are produced.

Stephen J. Greenhill

# The Young Napoleon

TO BE A general at 24, and an army commander by the age of 26, is quite an achievement; to do so in a foreign country is remarkable. Driven by ambition, exploiting every opportunity, the early career of Napoleon shows the development of his enigmatic character, military skill and political ability. Many accounts of his life amount to subjective hero worship or condemnation. Cynical historians discern a total, all-consuming egotism. But none deny his genius.

Napoleone Buonaparte — the Italian spelling would remain until 1796 — was born in Corsica in 1769, shortly after its cession to France by Genoa. His father was a lawyer and member of the petty aristocracy, earning a scanty income from small farms. The boy explored the dense Corsican scrub and woodland and led his friends in vicious fights against city urchins. His strong-willed mother would send him to fetch his father from gambling. As a youth Napoleone is said to have written to the Admiralty in London, seeking a midshipman's appointment in the British Royal Navy, but their Lordships did not reply to his letter, placing his future in other hands.

After the Corsican patriot, Paoli, was defeated by the French, Napoleone's father had advanced his family standing

DAVID COWARD  
Painting by RICHARD HOOK

THE GREAT COMMANDERS is a new six-part series, already acclaimed in the United States, examining the skills of Alexander, Caesar, Napoleon, Nelson, Grant and Zhukov. It will be shown on Channel 4 on Sunday evenings from 21 November. In the second of four articles, David Coward looks at factors in the early life of Napoleon that led to his becoming a great commander.

by wooing the island's French governor, who admired his beautiful wife. This secured privileges, especially royal grants for expensive state education. With the tenuous family links to the nobility proven, Napoleone would be educated at élite French schools.

He left Corsica and in 1779 entered the Military College of Brienne. Father had taught son that, as noblemen, they were superior. The belief received a rude shock from the sons of the French nobility. Short of stature, with a nasal foreign accent, Napoleone received the nickname of *la paille-a-nez* (straw nose). According to a contemporary he was self-absorbed and solitary, unpopular because of an acid tongue. Napoleon recalled 'I was not liked in school', but claims to have led the famous snow fight immortalised in Abel Gance's

film. A proud and despised foreigner in an adopted country, he became a loner, with none of the intense personal magnetism he would later show.

He remained there for five and a half years, lonely and homesick, a Corsican nationalist secretly hating the people whose King he was being trained to serve. His secret hero was Paoli. At last came his final report: 'Character: obedient, amenable, honest, grateful; conduct: perfectly regular; he has throughout distinguished himself by his steady work at mathematics. He knows his history and geography pretty well. Fencing and dancing very poor. He will make an excellent sailor, and is fit for admission to the school at Paris.'

Napoleone became a *cadet-gentilhomme* at the *Ecole Militaire de Paris* on 30 October 1784. He remained

friendless, prone to picking quarrels. His performance was unremarkable, perhaps due to his father's death in February 1785. Although not the eldest, the 16-year-old Napoleone assumed the head of his family, a financial strain that would dog his early career. Such was Corsican clan loyalty; as he prospered his family would prosper along with him. Lacking the social polish for the infantry or cavalry, only the meritocratic artillery or engineers were open to him. He passed the artillery exam in the top third and graduated from the *Ecole Militaire* 42nd of 58 in September 1785. He was now a probationary *lieutenant en second d'artillerie*. He left Paris to join the La Fère Artillery Regiment at Valence-sur-Rhône.

To get his commission confirmed, he first had to serve three months in the ranks as a gunner. He saw his first active service quelling food riots in Lyons. But most of his time

*Napoleon at Brienne (after Dunas). After a brief spell at a religious school at Autun, polishing his French with his brother Joseph, Napoleon went to the Royal School run by Mithon monks. Although educated as a Frenchman, he would regard himself as a foreigner for many years. (Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection.)*



appears to have been spent in private study. 'I have nothing to do here except work. I only get into uniform once a week'. A voracious reader with a photographic memory, Buonaparte devoured political works. Homesick for his native island, he wrote *Lettres sur la Corse*. Impoverished by sending most of his pay to his widowed mother, bored with garrison duty, a social reject with aristocratic pretensions faring remote promotion prospects, in May 1786 he seriously contemplated suicide. 'I am compelled by duty to like a people whom it is natural for me to hate'.

He spent September 1786 to June 1788 on long leave in Corsica. The second trunk he arrived with, larger than the one for clothes, was packed with books. Napoleon then returned to duty at Auxonne, attached to the school of artillery. Secretary to a board of senior officers conducting gunnery trials, his knowledge of the potential of battlefield firepower continued to expand. French artillery, reformed by Gribeauval, was harnessing the best in Europe. Buonaparte's education had included little strategy and tactics, but his Commandant, Baron du Teil, made him his protégé, lending him books on military history and theory.

Napoleone adapted these military writings to form his future strategies. They would be neither original nor revolutionary, being filtered through study, consideration, selection, elimination and adaptation. From the *Essai général de tactique* by the Comte de Guibert he learnt concentration of force, surprise through speed of movement, and the flexibility of self-contained divisions.

With Bérulot's works this formed the basis of the future Corps d'Armée. The young officer read Turpin de Crisse, Montalembert, Lloyd and Chevalier de Folard. Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* had appeared in French translation in 1782. Its teachings of mobility, dispersal and concentration makes it seem unlikely that it escaped this voracious military reader.

Napoleone studied history as well as theory. Six previous commanders inspired him: 'Pense again and again the campaigns of Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar, Gustavus Adolphus, Turenne, Eugene and Frederick. Model yourself upon them. This is the only means of becoming a great captain, and of acquiring the secret of the art of war.'

As the French Revolution began, the young lieutenant en second d'artillerie put himself amidst severe repression. A month after the storming of the Bastille, his old La Fère Regiment mutinied. Buonaparte continued to study and read. In June 1789: 'He looked like a soldier: his eyes were piercing, his complexion pale; he had an uneducated accent, and foreign name'. An officer who served with him at the time gave a different impression: 'a young windbag arguing interminably whatever the subject, determined to reform anything and everything'.

The Estates-General of the ancien régime was replaced by a National Assembly in May 1789. An excited Napoleone believed it meant the rebirth of France and his homeland. In September 1789 he returned to Corsica and joined Paoli. But Paoli had no sympathy for the son of a man who had collabo-

rated with the French. Disappointed, Buonaparte returned to France and regimental duty at Auxonne in early 1791.

He was promoted *premier lieutenant d'artillerie* on 1 April 1791, and on 6 July took the new oath of allegiance to the National Assembly. By now he was a firm republican, having joined and become President of the local Jacobins, the most radical revolutionary faction. Buonaparte returned to Corsica and local politics. Regular officers were now allowed elected rank in the volunteer national guard. By the simple expedient of having his fellow candidates kidnapped, he was elected Lieutenant Colonel of the Second Battalion Corsican Volunteers on 1 April.

A few days later he was involved in an uprising, running the risk of being classed as an émigré and struck off the army list. This was a major error for Napoleone, as his sole social and financial status was in France. On 28 April he went to Paris instead of rejoining his regiment. With the aid of Corsican deputies he was reinstated, and even given antedated promotion to second captain. Returning to Corsica in September 1792, he finally fell out with Paoli. Buonaparte joined the Corsican Jacobins, who opposed Paoli's policy of separation from France. Paoli regarded him as too pro-French, too revolutionary. Civil war started in April 1793. In June 1793 Napoleone and family fled Corsica for France, condemned by Paoli to 'perpetual excommunication and infamy'. In 1794 Corsica surrendered to the British, who would hold it for the next three years.

France was now at war with

all of Europe, and was faced with internal rebellion. Napoleone rejoined his regiment at Nice. His imagination was fired by study of war and politics, his ambition inspired by the meritocracy of the new regime. He had loathed privilege when it was in hands other than his own. No longer restrained by his lack of social standing, or distracted by Corsica, he now awaited his opportunity. It was an aspect of his character that appeared in a letter between his brothers in June 1792: 'I can tell you in complete confidence that I have always discerned in Napoleone a purely personal ambition, which overrules his patriotism. I am convinced that he is a dangerous man in a free state...'.

At Nice Buonaparte commanded coastal batteries and organised supplies for the army of Italy. Escorting a grainwrighter's convoy to Italy, he became incorporated into ad hoc forces against royalist uprisings at Avignon and Marseilles. During the campaign Napoleone wrote *Souper de Beaucaire*, a pamphlet aiming for rational and united revolutionary action. It came to the attention of Salicetti, Corsican Deputy and Army Commissioner, who introduced Napoleone to the brother of Robespierre. Marseilles and Avignon were restored, but Toulon turned royalist, supported by a British garrison and threatening French power in the Mediterranean. In the early skirmishes the republican artillery commander was wounded; Buonaparte promptly persuaded fellow Corsican Salicetti to put his name forward as replacement. Robespierre agreed. On 16 September 1793 the new artillery commander joined the troops besieging Toulon. Were it not for this stroke of luck, and his tenacity to exploit it, Buonaparte would have returned to Nice, coastal batteries and convoys.

The port of Toulon was dominated by the Fort L'Eguillette, on a promontory overlooking the inner harbour. The Buonaparte family had landed



Target Practice, Dieppe. (Painting by Francois Flameng, 1795) Garrison life has frustrated generations of young officers, and Bonaparte was no exception. Excluded from aristocratic pursuits by lack of wealth and position he read voraciously. (Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection.)



there from Corsica earlier in the year; Napoleon's eye for ground had seen that the fort was the key. If it could be taken, British warships in the harbour would be homelanded and compelled to evacuate. His attempts to persuade his commander to allocate forces to the task failed, despite his promotion to *chef de bataillon* (Major) on 18 October. He devoted his energies to building up his artillery, and saw with dismay the British fortifying the vital fort after repulsing a weak French assault.

Before Toulon Buonaparte must have studied the French soldier as carefully as he had studied his leadership: 'this young officer combined with plenty of talent an unusual degree of courage, and quite tireless activity. If he needed a moment's rest, he took it on the ground, wrapped in his cloak. He never left the batteries.' Besides his personal example, Napoleon ensured that there was no shortage of volunteers to man a suicidally exposed battery by calling it *Batterie des hommes sans peur*. It was not cynicism that led him to later remark, 'It is with hauberk that men are led', but a profound knowledge of human nature in war.

The precocious young officer attempted to get things moving by petitioning Paris to appoint a grinner senior to him who would have sufficient authority. The brother of his old mentor, Du Teil, duly arrived. A vigorous general replaced the inept political appointee in overall command and the fort

was taken in a savage assault, Buonaparte receiving a bayonet wound in the thigh. British ships, harassed by red-hot cannon fire from the captured fort, evacuated Toulon from 17-19 December. On 22 December, aged 24, Napoleon Buonaparte was rewarded for his contribution with promotion to *général de brigade*. His commander, Du Teil, wrote to the Minister of War: 'Words fail me to describe Buonaparte's merits. He has plenty of knowledge, and as much intelligence and courage; and that is no more than a first sketch of the virtues of a most uncommon officer.'

In February 1794 he became artillery commander in Italy. His meticulous planning led to the capture of both Lanzo and an area in the Ligurian Alps known as 'The Barricaules', as well as a successful advance to Piedmont. Dabbling in extremist politics had helped secure the promotion his abilities deserved, but would now almost destroy his career.

Buonaparte's ideological commitment was probably quite genuine, perhaps fired by the repeated snubbing he had received from the privileged sons of the aristocracy at the élite schools he attended. His opinions were so extreme that he earned a reputation as one of those responsible for the Terror that the radical Jacobins had imposed on France. In his social position he had been terribly lucky. His family had been just aristocratic enough to secure an élite royalist education, poor and undistinguished

enough for this career to flourish under the revolution. Nevertheless he coarsened his manner and appearance to curry favour with *sans-culottes*. He had the respect of Robespierre, feared head of government, but amidst the strife that plagued France, would the Robespierres themselves last?

On 27 July 1794 the Robespierre brothers were overthrown and guillotined the next day. On the orders of Salicetti, his former patron, Buonaparte was arrested as a Robespierrist and imprisoned at Antibes. An earlier intelligence mission in Genoa was cited as evidence of his treasonable behaviour. His reputation as a soldier saved his life and he was freed, but remained suspect. Recalled to Paris, he proudly refused a posting to fight royalist guerrillas. He was put on half pay. Now came his first true experience of poverty.

For a time he received no pay at all. In his threadbare uniform he trod through government offices seeking reinstatement, occasionally being called to give technical advice on the Italian front. He made fruitless inquiries about service with the Turkish sultan. He 'was always pensive, frequently anxious and depressed... He was tormented by his need for activity, finding it unbearable to be just one of the crowd.' Only a loan prevented him drowning himself in the Seine. The unemployed citizen general was observed early in 1795: 'Far from receiving the impression of a man of fiery genius, one is

*Thirteen Vendémiaire* (5 October 1795). (Painting after Myrbach.) This picture clearly shows the carriages of the Gribeauval system, which had made French artillery design the finest in Europe. A similar 'whiff of grapeshot', this time fired by British guns, would end the resistance of the Imperial Guard at Napoleon's final battle nearly twenty years later. (Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection.)

more apt to feel that this is someone it would be alarming to meet in the close to a wind late at night'.

Prised to the *bureau topographique* on 21 August 1795, the name of Napoleone Buonaparte was removed from the army list by the Committee for Public Safety. There seemed little chance he would ever soldier again. But five weeks later the insecure republic was in need of a forceful general.

At the beginning of October the Paris mob rose. Lacking an officer he could trust, Director Barras appointed Buonaparte. Joachim Murat, an officer who happened to be passing, was sent by Napoleon to seize artillery. Men and guns were quickly sited, firing salvos at the rioters at almost point-blank range. They broke and fled, the revolt was crushed, and a reinstated Buonaparte was promoted to *général de division* by a grateful Directory. He was appointed to command the *Armée de l'Intérieur*.

The rehabilitated general, however, was too gauche to make the most of his opportunities, having no social contacts

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in the ruling circle other than Barras. His political position became more secure when Barras' former lover, once a Vicomtesse and the future Empress Josephine, took up with Napoleon. She convinced Barras that the little general was devoted to him. Bonaparte now began to intrigue for command of the Army of Italy, so he could conduct part of the strategic plan the Directory had adopted, apparently on his advice. The Austrians were to be distracted in Italy while a French army of 160,000 men marched on Vienna. On 2 March he was appointed, marrying Josephine a week later. His brother Lucien described the command as Barras' dowry for Josephine.

Bonaparte arrived at his Nice headquarters on 26 March 1796. He had never led an army in the field before. None of his generals knew him, and the first time they went to see him formed a poor opinion. Augereau, who began life as a footman and had served in the Russian Army; Masséna who had been a smuggler; La Harpe, a tough Swiss mercenary; Sérurier, who had been an ensign in 1754; Berthier, pro-

Richard Hook's reconstructions on the back cover show, right: Carlet-gentilhomme Napoleone di Buonaparte, Ecole Royale Militaire de Paris, 1785. Based upon an illustration reproduced in *carriole de la sabretache* and a drawing of Napoleon made in 1785. Aged sixteen, he would learn little here that would help his career.

Left: Napoleon as chef de bataillon, Toulon, November 1793. Based on the painting by Grenier and the portrait as premier lieutenant d'artillerie by Jean-Baptiste Grenier. He wears the uniform of 1779, with revolutionary modifications; in his tricorne the tricolour has replaced the Bourbon white. Spending most of his time at his batteries, even sleeping there, he is shown about to sight a gun. Sighting would normally be done by the rapier commanding the gun crew, who aimed the gun using the hairs thrust through the rings on the tricorn. Napoleon's position here is that of the gunner responsible for blocking the vent hole on loading (to prevent the ignition of unburnt powder) and operating the elevating screw.



Boy of Napoleon, 1799. (By Corbiot.) Once a bitter hater, Napoleon Bonaparte was inspired and motivated all those he encountered. (Musée Carnavalet, photograph Phil Grabsky.)

moted colonel in 1778 — none were to be easily cowed by a 'wild-haired little runt' of 26. His short stature and weak physique were not impressive. They imagined, from the way he carried about his wife's portrait and showed it to everyone, and still more from his extreme youth, that he owed his appointment to putting down a riot in Paris then obligingly marrying the cast-off mistress of one of the directors. They were probably right, but Napoleone Bonaparte was no ordinary political appointee:

'A moment later he put on his general's hat and seemed to have grown two feet. He asked us where our divisions were stationed, how they were equipped, what was the spirit and fighting value of each

corps; he gave us our marching orders, and announced that tomorrow he would inspect the whole army, and the day after tomorrow it would march and deliver battle against the enemy. He spoke with the conviction that at last they had a real leader.'

The generals were dumbfounded. Augereau afterwards admitted to Masséna that 'this little bugger of a general has actually scared me'. A young unknown man would now inspire a ragged, mutinous, half-starved army and give it the energy and momentum to march and fight. He would control and dominate generals older than himself. For years he had been studying military theory and history to form his strategic policy. Now it would be put into practice. He was to give nothing new to the French Army — except victory. **MI**

Napoleon's rise to the position of foremost soldier in Europe will be featured in Episode Three of 'The Great Commanders', which will be shown on Channel 4 on Sunday 5 December at 8pm. Using archives, 3D computer graphics, location footage, and interviews with various experts, the programme will look at Napoleon's qualities as a commander, focusing on the Battle of Austerlitz. A book to accompany the series, written by Phil Grabsky and with an introduction by series consultant David Chandler, will be published by Bantam, price £14.99.

## The Young Napoleon



Toulon, 1793

Ecole Militaire  
de Paris,  
1785

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